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POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

CONTAINING

THE TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS
OF THE SOCIETY.

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POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

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HER MAJESTY LILIUOKALANI, QUEEN OF HAWAII.

President :

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(Chief Judge of the Native Land Court.)

Council :

(Elected 8th January, 1892.)

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Joint Hon. Secretaries, and Treasurers, and Editors of Journal :

ED. TREGEAR and S. PERCY SMITH.

THE Society is formed to promote the study of the Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology, History and Antiquities of the Polynesian races, by the publication of an official journal, to be called "THE JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY;" and by the collection of books, manuscripts, photographs, relics, and other illustrations.

The term "Polynesia" is intended to include Australia, New Zealand, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Malaysia, as well as Polynesia proper.

Candidates for admission to the Society shall be admitted on the joint recommendation of a member of the Society and a member of the Council, and on the approval of the Council.

Every person elected to membership shall receive immediate notice of the same from the Secretaries, and shall receive a copy of the rules; and on payment of his subscription of one pound shall be entitled to all the benefits of membership. Subscriptions are payable in advance, on the 1st January of each year.

Papers will be received on any of the above subjects if sent through a member. Authors are requested to write only on one side of the paper, to use quarto paper, and to leave one inch margin on the left-hand side, to allow of binding. Proper names should be written in ROMAN TYPE.

The office of the Society is at present Box 188, Post Office, Wellington, New Zealand.

JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

CONTAINING

THE TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

No. 1.—APRIL 15, 1892.—Vol. I.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

At a meeting held in the Library of the New Zealand Institute, Wellington, on the 8th January, 1892, the Polynesian Society was duly formed, Officers elected, and Rules agreed to. The following Officers were unanimously elected :—

Patron—Her Majesty Liliuokalani (Queen of Hawaii).

President—H. G. Seth-Smith, Esq., M.A. (Chief Judge of the Native Land Court).

Council—Rev. W. J. Habens, B.A., A. Carroll, Esq., M.A., M.D., J. R. Blair, Esq., Elsdon Best, Esq., E. Tregear, Esq., F.R.G.S. and S. Percy Smith, Esq., F.R.G.S.

Joint Secretaries and Treasurers—E. Tregear and S. Percy Smith.

The following Honorary Members were elected :—Hon. Sir George Grey, K.C.B., and Francis Dart Fenton, Esq. (late Chief Judge of the Native Land Court).

The undermentioned Gentlemen were elected Corresponding Members ;—Professor Otis T. Mason (Curator of Ethnology, National Museum, Washington), and the Rev. T. G. Hammond, Patea, Taranaki, N.Z.

The Names of one hundred and twelve Ladies and Gentlemen were read out as having joined the Society.

The Council met on the 11th January, 1892, when several matters relating to the affairs of the Society were settled, and draft letters to Honorary and Corresponding Members, and Circular No. 1, were approved.

The Council met on the 25th March, 1892, when several letters and the following papers were received and discussed :—"The Native Races of the Philippines," "Futuna Island and its People," "The Tahitian Hymn of Creation," "Genealogies and Historical Notes from Barotonga," "Maori Deities," "Polynesian Causatives," "Notes and Queries."

The following new members were elected :—W. Ford, Esq., of Sydney; Right Rev. S. T. Nevill, D.D., of Dunedin; T. K. Skinner, Esq., of New Plymouth; J. N. Williams, Esq., of Hastings; Rev. H. W. Williams, of Gisborne.

A donation of Native articles, from the East Indian Archipelago, was accepted from N. J. Tone, Esq.

A communication was received from Hon. W. D. Alexander, announcing the formation of an Historical Society in Honolulu, with objects in sympathy with those of our Society.

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Rev. T. G. Hammond	Patea, Taranaki

The names of several members in Rarotonga have, unfortunately, not yet reached the Council. As this list will be published annually, the Secretaries would feel obliged if members would supply any omissions, or notify change of residence.





THE RACES OF THE PHILIPPINES.

IN studying the language, manners, and customs of a remote and little known people it is often extremely difficult for the student to obtain the latest or most correct accounts of such a race. In reference to the natives of the Philippine Islands the best descriptions are those written in the Spanish language. No reliable, detailed account of them has yet appeared as the work of an English writer. The best works on this subject, excepting the Spanish, are German and Dutch, the former being Dr. C. Semper's "*Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner*," and Jagor's "*Travels in the Philippines*," the latter consisting of the accounts of various voyagers, and some interesting articles published by the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. The Spanish, on the other hand, have had every facility for observing the customs, language, &c., of the natives. From the time of the Spanish conquest that nation has ever been closely connected with the history of the native race. In fact until recently the conservative and jealous feelings of the Spanish have prevented any systematic exploration of the country by foreigners. De Morga's work "*Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*," published in Mexico in 1606, and the "*Descubrimiento de las Islas de Salomon*," contain the best descriptions of the Aieta and Tagalo-Bisaya tribes, as they were when discovered by Europeans. In addition to these there are many accounts of early Spanish voyagers in the libraries of Mexico which are not easily accessible to foreigners. Some interesting articles have also lately appeared in the "*Revista Ibero-Americana*," Madrid. These are by M. Martinez Vigil, the Bishop of Oviedo. In view of these facts it may be advisable to publish in the Society's journal, a description of the aboriginal races of the Philippines, as obtained chiefly from works in the Spanish tongue. These primitive people are an interesting study on account of their long isolation in a remote group, and it will also be interesting to compare them with the southern branches of the race. Much valuable information on this subject may yet be obtained by our members. Good

work has been done by the pioneers of Polynesian ethnology, but much more remains to be accomplished. We are yet merely working the surface of this great field, and may well take for our motto the last words of the great German—"More light."

VISITS OF EARLY NAVIGATORS.

On the 16th day of March, 1521, the fleet of Magellan sighted the Philippine Islands. This famous navigator, though Portuguese by birth, was commissioned by the Spanish monarch to explore the Moluccas. Sailing through the Straits of Magellan, which he discovered on the 28th November, 1520, he crossed the vast, unknown Mar del Zur, and reached the Mariannes, or "Islas de los Ladrones." Sailing from thence to the westward, he discovered the Philippines, which he named the Archipelago of St. Lazarus. Remaining for some time at the island of Sebu, he engaged in a war with one of the native chiefs of Mactan, a small island close to Sebu, in which war he was killed by a poisoned arrow. Sebastian del Cano, his second in command, returned to Spain with but one ship. An account of this and subsequent visits is given in the collections of old voyages, by Callander, Pinckerton, and the Hakluyt Society.

Prior to the discovery of the Philippines by Magellan, they had been long known to the Chinese and Malays, the former having been in the habit of making annual trading voyages to Luzon. In July, 1525, a fleet of six vessels, under Garcia de Loaisa, was despatched from Corunna, by Charles V. of Spain, to make a voyage of exploration round the world. Sebastian del Cano, who brought Magellan's surviving ship home, was in charge of one of the ships, but his vessel was wrecked in the passage of the Straits of Magellan. Loaisa succeeded in reaching Mexico with three ships, having been separated from two of the fleet in a storm off the coast of South America. These two waifs, under Jorge Manriquez and Martin Iniquez, eventually reached the Philippine Island of Mindanao, where the crew of the former mutinied, killed their officers, and turned pirates. Iniquez proceeded to Tidore, one of the Moluccas, where he was afterwards poisoned by his crew.* In 1528, Alvaro de Saavedra, who was sent by Cortes from Mexico to explore the Spice Islands, visited Mindanao. On his way back to New Spain he died, the expedition then returning to the Moluccas. In 1542, Juan Gaetan and Bertrand de la Torre, sailing from Navidad, Mexico, crossed the Pacific to the Philippines. Torre, on his return voyage to Mexico, stated that he discovered and coasted along 650 leagues of a strange land, which is supposed to have been New Guinea. In 1545, Lopez de Villalobos, commanding a fleet sent from New Spain, visited the Islands on his way to the Moluccas. In 1564, Miguel de Legazpi was sent from Navidad by Luis de Velasco

* Callender's Collection of Voyages.

to subjugate the Philippines. He sailed with five ships and five hundred men, and after considerable fighting with the natives finally took possession of Manilla in 1581. It was this voyager who gave to the Islands the name "Las Islas de las Filipinas," which they bear to this day. In many of the early accounts they are called the Lucones, the Manilas, or "Islas del Poniente." They were known to the Portuguese as the "Islas del Oriente." In 1584, Francisco de Gualle reached the group, and on his arrival in Mexico gave to the world the first authentic description of the Kura Siwo, or Black Current of Japan, which he states carried his ship to within 200 leagues of New Spain. In 1588, Thomas Cavendish, of England, explored portions of the Archipelago. In 1595 or 1596, the shattered remnant of Alvaro de Mendaña's ill-fated expedition for the settlement of the Solomon Islands found a refuge at the Philippines, which they reached in sore plight, under the command of Quiros and the Doña Isabel Barreto, wife of the late commandant.* In 1600, Oliver Van Noort, the Dutchman, touched at the Islands in the course of his disastrous voyage, eventually reaching Amsterdam on August 26th, 1601, "after much travail and difficulty," with only one ship remaining out of five, and but nine men left alive in that. And so the list of early voyagers to these Isles might be continued, Spanish, Portuguese, English, and Dutch.

The Philippine Islands lie between the fifth and nineteenth degrees of North latitude, and consist of the larger islands of Luzon, Mindanao, Palawan, Panay, Samar, Leyte, Mindoro, and Negros, with some hundreds of smaller isles and islets. Their total area is about 150,000 square miles, and the population over 6,000,000. The islands south of Luzon are called the Bisaya Isles.

THE AIETA OR ABORIGINES.

At the the time of the Spanish Conquest, in the sixteenth century, the Philippines were inhabited by two very different races. The original inhabitants were the Aieta, a Negrito or Papuan people, probably akin to the Alfuros of the more southern isles; Alfuro being a Portuguese word signifying wild or barbarous. This race has, in former times, occupied much more space in the archipelago than it has within the historic period, which is indicated by its geographical distribution, and it has evidently preceded the dissemination of the lighter coloured races of the island system. In many of the islands, remnants of these ancient people are still found in the mountains and more inaccessible parts. Such are the Semangs of the Malacca peninsula, the original people of Borneo, and the Alfuros of the Moluccas. Pickering, in his "Races of Man," has divided this race into two, calling one Papuan and the other Negrito, classifying the

* "Descubrimiento de las Islas de Salomon."

Aieta among the latter and the Fijians with the former, but in later years most ethnologists have held that all the original Negrillo tribes, from Fiji to the Malay Archipelago, have sprung from the one primal stock. Tylor considers that probably the Aieta, the Semangs, and Mincopies of the Andaman Isles, are a remnant of a very early human stock.* On the other hand, Crawford, a high authority, says:—"There are many different races of these Asiatic Negroes wholly unconnected with the Australians, and not traceable to any common origin." With Dr. Semper, he considers the Australians a race, *sui generis*. Professor Huxley classifies the Negritos of the archipelago with the Tasmanians, but he includes the Australians and various tribes of the Deccan in the Australoid type. The Aieta (Ata, Ita), who, if they were not truly autochthones, represent at least the first wave of migration, bear many resemblances to various Papuan tribes of Melanesia, and even to the far distant outpost of that race in Fiji. This race was presumably the first which settled the various islands of Melanesia, together with some outlying groups, and was overtaken at Fiji by a second wave of migration in the form of the Polynesians, who passed them and settled the many islands of the Pacific. For- nander places the date of the Polynesian hegira at about the second century, and adds that probably about the same time an invasion of the East Indian Islands by Malays and Kling or Telinga peoples of Eastern Hindostan took place. After examining several ancient Aieta skulls, Professor Virchow states that he found two distinct types of crania, the one dolichocephalic, and the other distinctly brachycephalic, from which statement it is argued by some anthropologists that there were originally two aboriginal races in the Philippines.

At some remote period of time, long anterior to the discovery of the Philippines by the Spanish, a race, which for want of a better name we term Malayan, had evidently settled in the Islands, and gradually encroaching on the indigenes, had subjugated some tribes, and driven others back into the interior, where, in the vast forests and various mountain ranges, they have preserved their independence and nationality unto this day. Some writers insist that the Tagalo-Bisaya tribes were members of a Pre-Malayan race, also represented by the Wugis of Celebes, the Dyaks of Borneo, and the Rejangs of Sumatra. However this may be, the order of races in the Archipelago was probably: Negrito, Polynesian, Malayan. Antonio de Morga, in his historical account of the Philippines, states: "It was known by tradition that the natives of provinces near Manila were not an indigenous race, but had settled there in bygone times, and that they were Malayo, natives of other islands and remote provinces."† These Malayan intruders possibly either came from different localities, or

* Anthropology.

† "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas." Mexico, 1606.

there may have been several migrations of them at wide intervals of time, for they were divided into many different tribes at the time of the Spanish invasion, each tribe speaking a different dialect of the common language, the principal of which were the Tagalo, Pampango and Bisaya. The invaders appear to have subdued the aborigines in many cases, and forced them from the more level and fertile portions of the land, and, being an agricultural people, they rapidly increased in the marvellously fertile valleys of the larger islands, where the rich soil and humid atmosphere produce a vegetation which is nowhere surpassed, and cultivated fields yield a constant succession of crops. The Chinese have had intercourse with the Philippines from a very early date. They appear to have made yearly trading voyages thither, and exchanged silk, cotton garments, powder, metal bells, iron and porcelain, for buffalo horns, peltries and cotton. Magellan speaks of the Chinese visiting the Philippines, and the Padre Gaubil says that Joung Lo, of the Ming Dynasty, sent ships to Luzon.* After the religion of Mahomet was extended to the East Indies it was introduced by the Malay sea rovers into the Philippines. These Mahomedan Malays, called "Moros" or Moors by the pagan tribes, gradually extended their religion over the group, and, at the time of the Spanish invasion, were in the habit of making frequent raids from Borneo and Tiernate (?) against the Bisaya Islands.

The Aieta are supposed to number at the present time about twenty thousand people, of which the greatest number are located on the island of Luzon. In the sixteenth century the Negrito race obtained in many of the Bisaya Isles. Cavendish, in 1588, remarked that the island of Negros was inhabited wholly by them; but now,— "In the south of the Philippines the Negrito appear to be almost entirely rooted out. The Mamanuas in Mindanao have Negrito blood in their veins, and in Negros Isle some few families of the Aieta still live in the region round the volcano; but with these exceptions the Autochthones upon the whole of the Bisaya Islands have disappeared. In Luzon their principal habitat is on the north-east coast and in the interior mountains. On Alabat Island, south-east of Manilla, at Baler and Casiguran Bays, and on the whole coast line from Palanan to Cabo Engano, in the extreme north, may be seen the remnants of this indigenous race in its greatest number and purity."† Some of these indigenes remain in almost their original state, and have not mixed with the Tagalo tribes, while others have become amalgamated with the various encroaching peoples—Chinese, Malayan, and Spanish. The Bataks are a wild tribe of Negrito descent who inhabit the Palawan Mountains. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, Lee Mahon, a Chinese pirate, invaded the Philippines with seventy vessels, but was defeated by the Spanish, who burnt his vessels. Many of the

* Pinckerton's Collection, vol. xi.

† "Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner."—Dr. C. Semper, 1869.

Chinese escaped to the mountains, and took up their abode with wild tribes. The Ygarrote Proper are a mountain tribe of mixed native and Chinese descent, but in later times the Spanish have used this term to denote all pagan tribes who hold themselves aloof. The state of culture which obtains among the Aieta is certainly not of a high standard.

Gironiere, in his work on the Philippines, remarks :—"The Aieta resemble monkeys more than human beings, both in gesture and appearance. Their sole superiority consists in the ability to make fire, and the use of the bow and arrow. Their colour is black, and they do not know how to get rid of their hair, which forms a strange sort of halo round the head. Their sole dress is an eight-inch girdle, and for food they utilise various fruits and roots, and the produce of the chase, having a habit of eating meat almost raw. Their weapons are a bamboo lance or spear, and bow and arrows, the latter being poisoned. During the day the able bodied of the tribal family go out to hunt, while the old people sit round the camp fire, and at night they all lie down in the ashes and sleep promiscuously. The old women, with their extraordinary hair, decrepit limbs, and pot bellies, are singularly hideous. Their language has a great paucity of words, and is difficult to acquire. Children are named after the place where they are born, and the sick or wounded persons are often buried alive. On the death of a member of the tribe, they sally out to avenge him, and slay the first living thing they encounter as a payment, be it friend or foe, boar, buffalo, stag, or human being. As they proceed on such an expedition they break the twigs off trees in a certain manner to warn friends off their line of march. These indigenes are prodigiously active at climbing trees, clasping the trunk with their hands, and setting the soles of their feet against the trunk."* This author made many excursions into the interior of the country, and gives much interesting information concerning the aboriginal race, and the Tagalo-Bisaya invaders. His work is well spoken of by residents of the country. The Papuan or Negrito race would probably never have raised themselves in the scale of civilisation by their own unaided efforts, even if they had never been forced by invaders to take the position of an inferior people. A. R. Wallace, in his work on the Malay Archipelago, says :—"The Papuans have more vital energy than the Malays, and might have advanced as far in civilisation if they had had the same intercourse with civilised nations." But this is extremely doubtful. As a race, they do not appear to be capable of advancing, and all efforts in that direction have met with signal failure. They certainly acquire a few arts of a more civilised life, such as improvement in winter dwellings and cultivating the soil, but even this much is only seen in those of them who have remained in close con-

* "Twenty Years in the Philippines."

tact with the dominant race, and does not extend to the forest tribes. "The teaching of the superior race is addressed to limited intelligences, utterly destitute of the faculty of abstraction, which same faculty has been developed among ourselves by a long process of culture.*

The Aieta are a race despised and looked down upon by both bodies of the invaders of their country, both Tagalo and Spanish, on account of their infantile intelligence and crude morality; but for the very reason of this same primitive state of the intellect they ought to interest us, for they show to us the original state of humanity, the very childhood of the human race. The cause of the savagery of the aborigines of Australia is said to be the fact that they had no cereals or domestic animals, and that they inhabited a sterile and desert country. This argument will not hold good with the Aieta, who dwelt in one of the most fertile and prolific countries in the world, and who have had both rice, and possibly the sweet potato, for an indefinite time. The buffalo also, which is domesticated by the Malay tribes, the Aieta never attempt to tame. What, then, is the true cause of this continued barbarism? Whately, in his "Origin of Civilisation," states "Savages never did or can raise themselves to a higher condition, they never seem to invent or discover anything, and must have instruction from without." This scarcely seems to meet the case, for in what manner did such isolated peoples as the Toltecs and Quichas reach an advanced stage of civilisation—a civilisation which evolved a written character, erected vast buildings of sculptured stone, and was versed in astronomical lore. Lubbock, in "Early Conditions of Mankind," remarks, in refutation of Whately's argument—"The primitive condition of mankind was utter barbarism, from that state certain races independently raised themselves." The Aieta in question have occupied the land from time immemorial, but have never made any advance towards a higher state. Why did they not evolve such a civilisation as that of ancient Peru and Mexico? Because of the total absence of the aforementioned faculty of abstraction, of the intensely crude state of the intellect, and because "the human race is so constituted," says Westropp in "Primitive Symbolism," "that the same objects and the same operations of nature will suggest like ideas in the minds of men of all races, however widely apart." The operations of nature herself were against them on every side. In Buckle's "History of Civilisation" we read, "Fertility of soil is necessary to the growth of civilisation. All ancient civilisations sprang up in tropic countries, because food was plentiful and little clothing was required." But, "the only progress which is really effective depends, not on the bounty of nature, but on the energy of man"; and, "In Brazil nature was too powerful and prodigal, and overcame man by exuberance." Thus nature was in the Philippines, as in many other tropical countries, too bountiful and exuberant, and by her very exuberance prevented the

* "Primitive Folk." E. Reclus.

growth of that civilisation which she encouraged and fostered in other lands. Fertility of soil and easily obtained food are necessary to the evolution of civilisation, but when nature is too prodigal of her gifts she frustrates her own intentions, and man is rendered powerless to cope with her. The luxuriant forest, the superabundant vegetation, the impassable morass, cramp and overcome the energies and isolate the communities of men, thus preventing communication between them and interdicting the interchange of ideas. The Indian of the vast Brazilian forests, the Aieta of the Philippine jungles, and the inhabitants of many similar regions were subdued by fear and veneration of the works of nature. Thus it is that the mythology of every tropical country is based upon terror. To the primitive man a vague feeling of awe is suggested by the contemplation of the storm, a feeling of utter helplessness by the rampant luxuriance of vast forests, a feeling of intense loneliness and littleness by the rush of mighty rivers and the solitude of the unbroken jungle. He peoples the gloomy forest with strange and malignant beings, and fears to enter their dark depths. He sees the work of evil spirits in the flooded river, the roaring cataract, and the lightning-riven tree, and his imagination, occupied by these fearsome subjects, becomes warped and debased. To use the words of Buckle, "Table lands are the natural birthplaces of civilisation," and of Pickering, "On entering a wooded country man will naturally relapse into a ruder state, and he must either conquer and destroy the forest or he will himself yield before its influence." And, again, of Argyle in "Primeval Man," "Indisputable facts of history prove that man has always in him the elements of corruption, he is capable of degradation, his knowledge may decay, his religion become lost." Primitive man is a savage in the primeval forest and a savage he will remain.

As to how long the Negrito race has been located in the Philippines it is impossible to conjecture, but it is certain that they must have inhabited the islands from a very remote date in prehistoric times. It is possible that in the unknown districts discoveries may yet be made, that will throw some light on the early history and mode of life of these people; but, so far, archeologists have not given us much information as to aboriginal antiquities. Some discoveries in that direction which have been assigned to the indigenous race might possibly be ascribed with more correctness to the Malayan invaders. In the high cliffs which border the narrow strait between the islands of Samar and Leyte are found many prehistoric burial caverns, in which are to be seen fragments of porcelain and earthenware, some of which are crudely glazed; and Antonio de Morga states: "In Luzon were once found very ancient jars of dark-coloured earthenware, of the origin of which the natives were entirely ignorant. They were sold to the Japanese at high prices." At Poro, in 1851, copper knives, stone bracelets and human bones were dug up from under four feet of soil, and in various prehistoric lake dwellings are found peculiar urns of a

goodly workmanship. Between the Bicol and Pasacao rivers is an ancient unfinished canal, of which no tradition appears to be extant. The same authority tells us that the Ygarrotes proper have smelted and worked copper for centuries.* It is evident from the statements of early writers, and of the natives themselves, that both gold and copper mining have been carried on from very early times; but whether the knowledge of metals and pottery obtained before the arrival of the Chinese or Malay intruders is decidedly problematical. A cave situated at Lauang is famed for containing large, flat, compressed skulls, about which there has been much conjecture among craniologists, some averring that they indicate a pre-Aietaa race; but this argument is a very dubious one, inasmuch as the Aietaa had an ancient custom, which is said to obtain yet in some parts, of compressing and flattening the heads of children, a custom indulged in by widely separated races. Such are the Nicobarians and the tribes of the Lower Columbia. "The inhabitants of some of the Philippine Islands had the custom of placing the heads of their newly-born children between two boards, and so compressing them that they no longer remained round, but were extended in length; and a flat occiput was regarded by them as a mark of beauty.† Reclus, in his description of the Aietaa, says: "They were under five feet in height, had bright eyes, high foreheads, hair abundant, bushy, and frizzed out, the legs calfless, and extremities slender." Morga's description, given by Hakluyt, is as follows: "In various parts of the Island of Luzon are seen natives of a black colour, with tangled hair (*cabello de pasas*), of low stature, though strong. They are barbarians of little capacity, having no houses or settled dwellings, but bivouac on the mountains and craggy ground, changing their abodes often, and living on game. A barbarous people, inclined to murder." "The Aietaa show a marked deficiency of chin, and their eyes have a decided yellow tinge."‡ Sir John Bowring, in his "Visit to the Philippines" says of the indigenes: "They are slight in form, agile, small and thin. Their hair is black and curly, the head small, forehead narrow, eyes large, penetrating, and veiled by long eyelids; nose of medium size, and depressed, the mouth and lips medium, and teeth long." Dr. Semper remarks: "With an average height of four feet seven inches for the men, and four feet four for the women, their limbs are uncommonly slender, their hair brown-black, shining and woolly-curled. With slightly swollen lips, flat noses, and dark, copper-brown skin." By the slenderness of their legs, and large, protruding stomach, the *muy barrigodos* of the Spanish, they remind us of the smooth or straight-haired natives of Australia. They are careless of their dress, which consists merely of aprons and leg-bandages, but take pains with their ornaments, which comprise ear-pendants, rings for the legs and

* Jagor, "Travels in the Philippines."

† Thevenot, "Voyages Curieux."

‡ Wood's "Natural History of Man,"

arms, neck-chains, and some utensils for tobacco and betel chewing, which they make out of roots, and also plait from the fibres of the pandanus. They also *tattoo* their bodies, some using the needle, and others making long cuts or gashes in the skin, which form scars or wheals." As to whether the Aieta were in the Stone or Bronze Age of culture at the time of the Malayo invasion, archeologists differ in opinion, some maintaining that all bronze or copper implements found in excavations and burial-caves were the handiwork of the Tagalo, or were introduced by the Chinese. This is probably the correct opinion, as, when we consider what a crude form of culture was theirs, and how they have never within historic times shown a desire to benefit by the superior arts and knowledge of the dominant race, it is very improbable that they ever invented the art of working metals, and thus raising themselves from the Neolithic Stone Culture to that of the Bronze Era. Craniologists tell us that the Aieta, in common with so many primitive races, are both prognathous and dolicho-cephalic. From measurements made by Dr. Semper it would appear that the average brain-weight of the Aieta crania is 40.53 ounces. The average, deduced from the capacity of two hundred and ten crania of different Oceanic races, is 45.63 ounces.

The Aieta are reported to be of a savage and ferocious character, indolent, independent, and averse to the civilisation of their aggressors. "They are peculiarly wild, and impatient of control; thus they are not easily organised, and so readily fall under the power of the Malays.* Without any significant trade, without agriculture, the roots of wild plants, the fish of the sea and rivers, and the chaseable animals of the forest, form their exclusive food. They move about in troops of six to eight families where a root of which they are fond ripens in abundance, or a desired kind of fish appears in shoals on the shore. The implements they use in fishing and the chase are at the same time their weapons. They penetrate into the thickest forest in search of wild honey. The wax they press into cakes and barter for glass beads, rice, and tobacco. But soon are the rice and the honey consumed, and then the old wanderer goes again from one place to another, restless and without repose, sometimes to the sea, sometimes into the deepest mountain defiles, in search of whatever may sustain life."†

These people can only reckon up to five in counting, in common with many other Negrito tribes. Their name for the Tagalo is "Tao" or "men," and their own name Aieta is from the Tagalo word for "black" (Ita).‡ The social organisation of the race is evidently patriarchal, and the oldest man holds authority as chief. The habitation of the Aieta are of the most primitive description, for they only

* Brace. "Races of the Old World."

† "Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner."

‡ Malay, *hêtam*.

build frail huts of branches and palm leaves, and often do not trouble themselves that much, but merely rest at night beneath a tree or around a camp fire. This roving life is a natural sequence of the hunting stage of culture; they are continually roaming through the forest in search of food, their camp fires being the gathering point at which are left the old and infirm people. The dog is their only domesticated animal. The poison for their arrows they obtain from the bark of a certain tree by a process of boiling, the poison when prepared being in the form of a thick paste, in which state it is smeared on the arrow heads. The dress of this people is simplicity itself, consisting generally of merely a girdle round the waist. The unmarried women sometimes wear a kind of scarf or shawl round the shoulders. In ancient times they made a coarse material from the fibre of the *abaco* or *bandala* (*musa textilis*, or Manila hemp) and also from the *anana* (pine-apple) fibre. "Their ornaments are earrings, armlets, anklets, and necklaces composed of wood, or woven of wood fibrils, or of the *pandanus* leaf.* In common with the Innuits and some other hyperborean tribes the Aieta are *omophagoi*, or raw-eaters, and they never appear to think of providing for the future. When food is plentiful they eat voraciously, and at other times suffer greatly from famine. Regarding one article of food in the Philippines—namely, the sweet potato—it is a long disputed point as to whether it was indigenous in the East Indies, or whether it was introduced from America. The Peruvian name for it was *cumar*,† the Mexican *camotli*, the Tagalo *camote*. It may be that the latter term was derived from *camotli* by the Spanish, and adopted in the Philippines for the plant already known there. Crawford and other authorities claim that it is a native of the East. Ignatius Donnelly, in "Atlantis," quotes an extract from the work of a traveller in the Yang-tse-Kiang Valley, who maintains that potatoes, maize, and tobacco have been cultivated in that region from the earliest times. Dr. Witmack says that the sweet potato has two names in Sanskrit, *ruktaloo* and *sharkarakanda*.

Marriage among the Aieta is a somewhat unrefined ceremony. On selecting a woman the suitor gives notice to her parents, and a day is appointed on which the woman is sent into the forest with one hour's start. If the suitor finds and returns with her to the camp before sunset the couple are considered legally married according to Aieta views. If, on the other hand, the lady has any objection to the would-be husband and conceals herself effectually in the jungle the suitor then forfeits all right to her. In the disposal of the dead the Aieta resemble many savage tribes, American and African. Above the grave they suspend the bow and arrows of the deceased, in the

* Featherman. "Social History of the Races of Mankind."

† Compare the Polynesian name for sweet potato—*kumara* and *umara*.—Editors.

belief that every night he will leave it to go hunting. When a man is wounded by a poisoned arrow, or has an incurable malady, he is, in many cases, buried alive.

The religion of the Aieta is a kind of Shamanism, and consists of Nature and ancestor worship. They venerate the memory of the dead, and visit the graves of relatives for years. Chiefs who have made themselves feared and respected in life, are looked upon after death as god-like beings. Their ideas of religious worship are, of course, crude and indistinct. They will reverence for a day, any rock or tree of an unusual shape, and then the object is deserted for another. And here we are reminded of the amount of singular knowledge in existence in various localities, but not yet available to students and lovers of anthropology. Travellers to a great extent despise, and therefore misunderstand, the primitive religions and superstitions of remote and little known peoples. The rites and ceremonies of such races are often an echo, though faint and confused, from prehistoric ages. Who, among the lovers of the noble science of anthropology, that has read of the strange relics of a bygone Polynesian civilisation, but must feel that the manners, customs, and traditions of the successors of that ancient race are worthy of the deepest study. They are the remnants, however incomplete, of a long vanished period. Almost all primitive religions consist of worship paid to Nature and her operations. Mythology is the effort of uncivilised man to explain the mysteries of creation; and if the race advances in civilisation, the mythological cultus is improved. Man, in his primordial state, requires some tangible object to worship, for an abstract idea is beyond his comprehension. His imagination rises to the occasion, and imbues inanimate objects with mysterious powers, and conjures up visions of evil spirits in the primeval forest, the gloomy canyon, or on the lonely mountain peaks. "Imagination is one of the most important faculties of the human mind; without it we could not grasp the Abstract, resist Impulse, rise to Duty, or desire the Unknown. And yet a dangerous faculty, one of the most effective causes of Degradation, the very root of Idolatry, as witness the dependence of the human mind on outward symbols, and the tendency to identify symbols with what they represent."* The religion of Mahomet, introduced from Borneo by the Malays, was received with indifference in the Philippines, and when the Spanish padres arrived from New Spain, they cast the seeds of their faith on sterile soil, in which the tree of Christianity refused to bear fruit. For religious doctrines have little effect on a people unless preceded by intellectual culture.

The Aieta, as a nation, are doomed. They are gradually being absorbed by the Tagalo-Bisaya tribes around them, and the time is not very far distant when the indigenes of the "Islas del Filipinas" will be a memory of the past, as are the Guanche and the Tasmanian.

* Argyle. "Primeval Man."

The time during which we may collect information of these old world peoples is fast slipping away, yet a little while and it will be too late. These aborigines, so little known to the world, are well worthy the interest of the ethnologist. Their undoubted antiquity and ancient language, their singular legends and customs of a remote past, their stolid conservatism in the face of their approaching destiny, all combine to render them a peculiarly interesting race. From their rugged mountain homes on the colossal vertebræ of the country, they have looked down for many generations upon the sanguinary encounters between the two races of their invaders. They have seen their old time foes conquered by the hated *caras blancas*; they see their homes of the dim long ago occupied by an alien people; they recall the ancient freedom of their race, and hear, in the sullen monotone of the distant ocean, their eternal requiem.

ELSDON BEST.





GENEALOGIES AND HISTORICAL NOTES FROM RAROTONGA.

PART I.—TRANSLATED BY HENRY NICHOLAS, Esq., OF
RAROTONGA.

THE first of the papers contributed by Mr. Nicholas (through the kindness of Mr. F. G. Moss, British Resident, Rarotonga) is the genealogy of one of the Chieftainesses of Rarotonga—Pa, of the Taki-tumu or Ngatitangiia tribe, who take their name from Tangiia, the leader of the migration (from Tahiti ?), and who settled down in Rarotonga, together with Makea-Karika and his people, (from Samoa ?) some twenty-five generations ago. This paper was originally written by one of the natives of Rarotonga in the year 1857, and is a valuable contribution to Polynesian history. It apparently supports by direct traditional testimony the theory propounded by Hale, and subsequently advocated by Fornander, of the occupation of the Fiji Group by the Polynesian race, and of their later migration eastward to Samoa and the Society Group.

The Avaiki alluded to in the genealogy is doubtless that particular one traditionally known to various branches of the Polynesian race under the names of Hawaii, Hawaiki, Avaiki, Havaii, &c., and the position of which must be looked for in the Indian Archipelago. It follows from the internal evidence of this history that Pa's ancestors formed a separate migration from that which peopled Samoa, which is also probable from many other things. The tradition states that in Iro's time (read Hiro, of Tahiti ; Whiro, of New Zealand ; Hilo, of Hawaii) the migration reached Upolu (of Samoa ?) and that his mother was a native of that place—apparently one of the Ngana family, known both to New Zealand and Hawaiian traditions, from which, indeed, both peoples trace descent. The four names preceding Iro in the genealogy are equally known to the Maoris and the Tahitians, both peoples tracing descent from them. Iro, in this narrative, has the

same character of a great navigator as is ascribed to him by New Zealand and Tahitian traditions. His final home appears to have been the Society Islands, probably Raiatea.

The subsequent history of the peopling of Rarotonga is interesting in many particulars, and is generally verified by the second paper, which will appear in the next number of the *Journal*, in which will be related the genealogical history of the Makea-Karika family of Rarotonga, from a date long antecedent to that given in the very interesting account published by the Rev. W. Wyatt Gill, LL.D., in Vol. II. of the "Transactions of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science."

The genealogy herein given, from Tai-te-ariki down to Upokotakau, or Pa, shows forty-four generations; whilst that of the Makea family, from the same period, counts only twenty-five; that of the Tamarua family also twenty-five; and that of the Tinomana family, twenty.* There is something unexplained here. It is considered, however, better to publish the table just as written down by the native author, leaving it to our members in Rarotonga to clear up the discrepancy. It is exceedingly important that this should be done whilst the old people who possess the knowledge are alive, or it will be lost for ever. It is upon these genealogies that all dates in Polynesian history must rest, and hence the interest attaching to them. Information is gradually accumulating which will allow of a comparison and correlation of the genealogies preserved by the New Zealanders, Rarotongans, Tahitians, Hawaiians, Samoans, and Tongans, in nearly all of which the names of common ancestors are preserved. When this has been done, the relative dates of events in the history of Polynesia will be placed on a firm footing. The Council earnestly commends to our members the collection of as many of these genealogies as can be obtained, before it is too late.

The Council has decided to publish the paper in the original Rarotonga dialect, as a fair specimen of that branch of the Polynesian language, written by one of the people themselves, and therefore thoroughly illustrative of its idiom and vocabulary, at a time prior to the introduction of words from other sources. Mr. Nicholas' translation appears to follow the original closely, and hence its abruptness of style. Maori scholars will readily understand the language by remembering that the Rarotongans do not make use of the "h," or the "wh," and that they substitute "v" for "w."

EDITORS.

* See Report "Australasian Association for Advancement of Science, 1890," p. 633.

E TUATUA TEIA NO TE TUPUANGA MAI O PA.
ARIKI O TAKITUMU.

NO ROTO AIA I TE UANGA ARIKI A ATEA MA PAPA, MEI
AVAIKI.

Ko Te Uira ma Te Aā, nga Ariki mei roto ia Atea ma Papa. Ko Te Aā, ko Pa ia. Tera te au ingoa o te au tupuna mei po mai; ko Mua, ko Eanga, ko Unga, ko Engi, ko Niua, ko Tamore, ko Ruroa, ko Rupoto, ko Rumaeeae, ko Rutapatapaiaa, ko Ueuenuku, ko Ueuerangi, ko Tuei, ko Maruiterangi, ko Noa, ko Tapu, ko Angaiakiterangi, ko Tangaroa-maiturangi, ko Tangaroa-tiputape, ko Tepouoterangi, ko Maro, ko Te tupua, ko Aranui, ko Runa, ko Ru, ko Aio, ko Peketeio, ko Peketoake, ko Peketeatama, ko Iateatama, ko Iatepo, ko Iateao, ko Iamaina, ko Iateata, ko Iatupuranga, ko Iamakarō, ko Iatangata, ko Tangatanui, ko Tangatarai, ko Tangakatoa, ko Itekatoarangi, ko Iateatu, ko Tiki, ko Taitorangunguru, ko Taitorangiangana, ko Torokimatangi, ko Teirapanga, ko Tutarangi. Kua tae mai ki Iti i reira (ko Fiti te ingoa i teia tuatau). Ko Tutarangi te Ariki i tupu ei te tamaki i te reira pa-enua.

Ta atura ia Itinui, ia Itirai, ia Ititakaikere, ia Itianaunau, ia Tonga, ia Nuku, ia Angaura, ia Kurupongi, ia Aramatietie, ia Mata-tera, ia Uea, ia Vairota, ia Katuapai, ia Vavau, ia Enuakura, ia Eremanga, e te au enua katoa i reira. Ta atura ia Manuka, kua pou taipae: kia tae ra ki tetai pae, kua mate ki reira te tumu toa o Tutarangi, ko Kurueke te ingoa i tona tumu toa.

Anau akera ta Tutarangi, ko Tangaroa-marouka, ko Tutakapuautā, ko Tutakapuatai, ko Tearunga, ko Teararo, ko Teatoruaitu, ko Teatoruakena, ko Aitu, ko Aokey, ko Aorai, ko Aoterupe, ko Aokivananga, ko Aokiaitu, ko Rakitu, ko Rakiroa, ko Tearikitapukura, ko Moeitiiti, ko Moerekareka, ko Moemetua, ko Moeterauri; anau tana ko Iro. Kua tae i reira ki Kupolu. E tamaine na Ngana-itetupua te metua vaiue o Ira: no Kupolu. E ariki tere moana a Iro; tae maira aia ki te pa-enua i runga, e tae mai oki ki Barotonga nei, oki atura ki Tahiti, e noo iora i reira. Anau akera ta Iro, ko Taiteariki. E roa akera tona nooanga i reira kua inangaro aia i te oki ki te pa-enua i raro. Kua aravei akera raua ma Tangiia i taua rā ra. Kua oki atu a Tangiia mei Mauke, i nga tamaine a Auriki, ia Moetuma, e Puatara. Aravei akera a Iro ma Tangiia, e kua ui atura a Tangiia kia Iro; "te peea nei koe?" Karanga atura a Iro. "Te oki nei au ki Raro." Kua pati atura a Tangiia kia Iro i te tama ia Taiteariki ei ariki nona, ei upoko i runga i nga paianga tangata, te

Neke, te Kairirā, te Manaune, te Kavakevake. Ko nga paianga tangata ia o Tangiia. Kua mate nga tamariki a Tangiia i reira i te ta a Tutapu. Ko aua nga tamariki oki te Ariki i Tahiti, ko Pouteanuanua, e Pourakarakaia o raua ingoa. Kua akatika atura a Iro i te pati a Tangiia, tuku atura i te tamaiti kia. Tangiia ma aua nga apinga, te *pu*, ma te *pau*, ma ona nga atua ko Tangaroa, e Tutavake, ma Taakura. Kia riro taua tamaiti ra kia Tangiia, topa atura tona ingoa ko Tearikiupokotini, aere atura a Iro i tona tere. I tau a tuatau ra, te tupu ra, ki te maataanga, te pekapeka o Tangiia ma. Tutapu, e peke atura a Tangiia ki te moana, ia Tutapu. Aere mai nei a Tangiia na te pa-enua ma tona au tangata e rua rau te katoa-toa anga. Aravei ake ra aia ia Karika, ki Maketu; kua rave atura aia i te tamaine a Karika ei vaine nana, ko Mokoroaiaitu te ingoa.

Akatere mai nei o raua vaka ki raro nei, taka ke atura tetai e tetai, topa rava atura a Tangiia ki te pae i apatonga, tei raro aia i te tonga i te kiteanga mai i te enua. Oki maira ki runga nei i te enua, e kake maira ki uta nei i te ava i Vaikokopu, tutau maira ki Te Miromiro. Kake mai ra ki te one, aū iora i te marae ia Te Miromiro, tuku atura i nga atua ki reira, ko Marumamao, e Uenga. E kua pera a Tangiia i te au aerenga i te au Marae. E kua aū atu ra i te koutu. Ariki o Pa, ia Paetaa, Aere atura i te au aerenga i te au Marae, e tae uta ki Tupapa. Kua aravei akera ia Karika ki reira, ko tona taenga mai mei te tere, kapiti atura raua, aere atura ki Avarua, e nonoo iora raua ki Tuituikamoana. E roa akera to raua nooanga i reira, aere atura a Tangiia ki uta i Tauae, noo atu ra i Pitekura, e tangi ta tetai pau, e tangi ta tetai.

I to raua nooanga i reira, kua tae mai a Tutapu ki Rarotonga nei, i te kimi aere ia Tangiia; tupu atura te tamaki ko Tangiia ma Karika tetai pae, ko Tutapu i tona pae. Pou atura to Tutapu pae, oro mai nei a Tutapu ki Ngatangia nei, aru mai ra a Tangiia ia Tutapu ki Ngatangia nei, aru mai ra a Tangiia ia Tutapu mate mainei ki te maunga i Avana, i te Vaikura. Noo ua iora a Tangiia ma Karika, e to raua pae tangata, kia tae ake ki tetai ra, kua aere atu ratou e akapini i te enua, i na mua i te aerenga, e na muri mai nei e tae ki Tupapa, noo iora i reira, angaiora i te are, ko Atea te ingoa. E kia oti taua are o Tangiia ra, karanga atura a Tangiia kia Karika; “ka akataka taua i nga Ariki, e nga taunga, e te au mataiapo, ma te au komono. Kua uipa mai ra te ngati-Karika ma te ngati-Tangiia. Kua karanga atu ra a Tangiia kia Karika; “Na uta koe ma toou pae tangata.” Kua na uta atura a ia ma tona pae tangata; karanga atura kia ngati-Tangiia; “Na tai kotou.” Kua na tai atura a ngati-Tangiia. Tuku atura i taua tamaiti rave aua ra ei Ariki ki runga ia ngati-Tangiia, taka atu ra nga Ariki, ko Tearikiupokotini tei runga ia ngati-Tangiia, ko Karika rai tei runga ia Teautonga. Kua akataka atura i te kau Taunga; tuku atura i to Karika ko Te kaia, tuku atu ra i to te

tama ko Potikitaua, ko Tenggara, ko More, ko Moate, ko Teramaite-tonga. E oti akera, kua akatau atura a Tangiia; "E kare i tau," e rima rava tona, okotai ei to Karika. Kua tuku atu ra ia Potikitaua ki uta i to Karika pae, toe atu ra ki tai toko a. Kua iki atura i te au Mataiapo tutara oko ā. Kua iki i te au Komono oko ā. Ko te unu unu kakao ia i Araitetonga. Kua ako atura a Tangiia ia ratou, na ko atura ko ta nga Mataiapo tuatua, tei nga Ariki ia. Ko ta te au Komono tuatua tei nga Mataiapo ia. E oti akera te iki anga, Kua karanga atu ra a Tangiia; "Apopo ka tua to tatou enua." E ao akera, aere atu ra ratou i te tua aereanga i te enua e piniuake. Noo atu ra te tangata, ki tona kainga, ki tona kainga, kua tangata enua i reira.

Auau akera ta Te Taiteariki, ko Taputapuatea; anau akera tana, ko Tearikiupokotini; anau tana, ko Tearikioterangi; anau tana ko Tuiturangi; anau tana Ko Rongo; anau tana ko Tearikiupokotini; anau tana ko Tearikinoorangi; anau tana ko Rongoiteuira; anau tana ko Teakariki; anau tana ko Rangi; anau tana ko Tetumu; anau tana ko Teaio; anau tana ko Taparangi; anau tana ko Pare; anau tana ko Maurirangi; anau tana ko Tearikivanangarangi; anau tana ko Tearikimoutaua; anau tana ko Maiotaranganuku; anau tana ko Teautanganuku; anau tana ko Takave; anau tana ko Tuikuporu; anau tana ko Tearikieraka; anau tana ko Ngaupokoakaturanga; anau tana ko Tutuaenga; anau tana ko Tevei; anau tana ko Arakivarevare; anau tana ko Tingia; anau tana ko Rangi; anau tana ko Tearikiupokotini; anau tana ko Vaerua; anau tana ko Tautu; anau tana ko Iria; anau tana ko Aitupao; anau tana ko Moeterauri; anau tana ko Ako; anau tana ko Teakariki; anau tana ko Tearikiupokotini; anau tana ko Tamaru; anau tana ko Mata; anau tana ko Teruaroa; anau tana ko Taputapuatea; anau tana ko Patepou; Koia te ariki i te tuatau i tae mai ei te tuatua na te Atua ki Rarotanga nei, e kua anau oki tana, ko Teaarikiupokotini; anau tana ko Taputapuatea, kare ra i tae te taoanga Ariki kia raua, no te mea kua mate vave raua, te ora rai a Pa Tepou. I muri mai i reira kua mate a Pa Tepou, 1855. Okotai ua aua tamaite toe, e tamaine, ko Opokotakau tona ingoa, riro atura iaia te taoanga Ariki i tana mataiti rai, koia te Ariki vaine i teia kopu Ariki.

Ko te tuatua ia o Pa ariki o
Takitumu i tataia i te tuatau
O Pitimani orometua papaa
O Ngati-Tangiia nei mataiti 1851
Kiritia i te mataiti 1891.

July 7th, 1891.

F. N.

TRANSLATION.

GENEALOGY OF PA, CHIEFTAINNESS OF TAKITUMU.

She is descended from the chiefs Atea and Papa; from Avaiki. Te-Uira and Te-Aā were both chiefs descended from Atea and Papa. From Te-Aā is descended Pa. The following are the ancestors from the remote past (*po*) to the present time:—

1 Mua	17 Angaia-ki-te-rangi	33 Ia-maina
Eanga	Tangaroa-maitu-rangi	Ia-te-ata
Unga	Tangaroa-tipu-ta-pe	35 Ia-tupu-ranga
Engi	20 Te-Pou-o te-Rangi	Ia-makaro
5 Niua	Maro	Ia-tangata
Tamore	Te-Tupua	Tangata-nui
Ru-roa	Aranui	Tangata-rai
Ru-poto	Runa	40 Tangata-katoa
Ru-maeaea	25 Ru	I-te-katoa-ranga
10 Ru-tapa-tapaiaa	Aio	Ia-te-atu
Ueuenuku	Peke-te-io	Tiki
Ueuerangi	Peke-to-ake	Taito-rangi-ngunguru
Tu-ei	Peke-tea-tama	45 Taito-rangi-ngangana
Maru-i-te-rangi	30 Ia-tea-tama	Toro-ki-matangi
Noa	Ia-te-po	Te-ira-panga
16 Tapu	32 Ia-te-ao	48 Tu-tarangi

At this period they arrived at Iti—Fiji is the name at the present time.

Tu-tarangi was the chief who originated the war against that country. He conquered Iti-nui, Iti-rai, Iti-takai-kere, Iti-anaunau, Tonga, Nuku, Anga-ura, Kurupongi, Ara-matietie, Matatera, Uea, Vairota, Katua-pai, Vavau, Enua-kura, Ere-Manga, and all the lands about there¹. He also took Manuka; he took one part of the island, but when he came to the other part he lost his leading warrior. Kurukeke was the name of that chief.

Tu-tarangi begat	12 Ao-te-rupe	who begot
Tangaroa-marou-uka, who begot	Ao-ki-vananga	"
Tu-takapu-a-uta	Ao-ki atu	"
Tu-takapu-a-tai	Rakitu	"
Te-arunga	Rakiroa	"
Te-araro	17 Te-ariki-tapu-kura	"
Te-atoru-aitu	Moe-iti-iti	"
8 Te-atoru-akena	Moe-reka-reka	"
9 Aitu	Moe-metua	"
Aokeu	Moe-te-rauri	"
Aorai	22 Iro ²	

At this period they arrived at Kupolu (Upolu.) A daughter of Ngana-i-te-tupua³ was the mother of Iro; she was from Kupolu. Iro was a great navigator⁴. He came to the countries to the north, and also to Rarotonga, whence he returned to Tahiti, and remained there. Iro begot Tai-te-ariki. After remaining some time there (Tahiti) he desired to return to the countries of the South (Rarotonga.) At that time he met with Tangiia at Mauke⁵, with the daughters of Auriki-moe-tuma and Pua-tara. When Iro met Tangiia the latter asked,

"Where are you going?" Iro replied, "I am going to the South." (Rarotonga.) Then Tangiia prayed of Iro to give him his son, Tai-te-ariki as a chief for him, and a head for the whole of his people (clans or families) Te-Neke, Te-Kairira, Te-Mana-une, Te-Ka-veka-vekaa which were the clans of Tangiia. The children of Tangiia had been killed at that time by Tu-tapu. Those children were the Chiefs of Tahiti. Pou-te-anua-nua and Pou-rakarakaia were their names. Iro granted the request of Tangiia, and gave him his son, and also his possessions, viz., flutes, drums, and his gods, named Tangaroa, Tutavake, and Taa-kura. When the child had been received by Tangiia he named him Te-ariki-upoko-tini, and then Iro proceeded on his voyage.

At that time commenced the troubles and quarrels between Tangiia and Tu-tapu, owing to which Tangiia had to take to the sea.⁶ Tangiia came to this land (Rarotonga) with his people, four hundred in number, and on his way fell in with Karika at Maketu in Mauke Island, where he took Karika's daughter to wife, whose name was Mokoroa-i-aitu.

They then sailed away with their canoes to the south. At sea they parted company, Tangiia drifting to the south, and sighted land to the north, then returned and landed at the harbour at Vaikokopu at Te-miro-miro in the island of Rarotonga. When he had landed, he made his *marae* at Te-Miromiro, and there deposited his gods, viz. Maru-ma-mao and Uenga. Tangiia also placed gods at the other *maraes*. He also built a refuge for Pa at Paetaa. He then proceeded along, building *maraes*, as far as Tupapa. At the latter place he met Karika, who had just arrived from a voyage; they then went together to Avarua, and stayed at Tui-tui-ka-moana. After staying there some time, Tangiia went inland to Tauae⁷ (and Karika), stayed at Pite-kura, and the drums of each were heard by the other.

During their stay at those places, Tu-tapu arrived at Rarotonga in search of Tangiia. Then commenced a war with Tangiia and Karika on one side, and Tu-tapu on the other. All Tu-tapu's side were slain, whilst he himself fled to Ngatangia, whither he was followed by Tangiia, who caught and slew him on the hill at Avana at a place called Vai-kura.⁸ Tangiia and Karika dwelt quietly together with their people for some time, and then they all made a circuit of the island, going by the west and returning by the east to Tupapa, and stayed there and built a house (for Tangiia) and called it Atea. After the completion of Tangiia's house, he said to Karika, "Let us select from the people, some to be Ariki (chiefs), some to be Taungas (priests), some to be Mataiapos and Komonos (minor chiefs)."

Then the Ngati-Karika and the Ngati-Tangiia gathered together for the selection, and Tangiia said to Karika, "You go with your people by the inland road," which they did; and then he said to

Ngati-Tangiia, "Let us go by the sea shore," and Ngati-Tangiia proceeded by the sea shore. Then Tangiia set up his adopted son, Te-ariki-upoko-tini, as *ariki* or chief over all Ngati-Tangiia, and Karika was *ariki* over Te-au-o-tonga. They then selected as priests, Takaia for Karika, and for the adopted son Potiki-taua, Te-Ngara, More, Moate, and Te-ra-mai-te-tonga. When this had been finished, Tangiia said, "It is not right," as he had five priests, whilst Karika had only one. He therefore sent Potiki-taua to the inland or Karika's side, leaving to his own or seaward side four.

They then set up the Mataiapos, 80 in number, and subsequently the Komonos, also 80 in number.⁹ Then Tangiia explained to them their relative positions, the Mataiapos to rank beneath the Arikis, and the Komonos below the Mataiapos. When these arrangements had been completed, Tangiia announced that: "To-morrow we will divide our lands." When morning came they proceeded to the division, completing the circuit of the island. Then each man settled down on his own land, and became "tangata enua," or natives of the land.

Tai-te-Ariki, or Te-Ariki-upoko-tini, 25	Tutu-aenga,	who begot
begot	Te-vei	"
Tapu-tapu-atea, who begot	Ara-ki-vare-vare	"
Te-Ariki-upoko-tini	Tingia	"
Te-Ariki-o-te-rangi	Rangi	"
5 Tui-te-rangi	30 Te-Ariki-upoko-tini	"
Rongo	Vaerua	"
Te-Ariki-upoko-tini	Tautu	"
Te-Ariki-noo-rangi	Iria	"
Rongo-i-te-uira	Ai-tupao	"
10 Te-akariki	35 Moe-te-rauri	"
Rangi	Ako	"
Te-Tumu	Ie-akariki	"
Te-aio	Te-Ariki-upoko-tini	"
Tapu-rangi	Tamaru	"
15 Pare	40 Mata	"
Mauri-Rangi	Te-rua-roa	"
Te-Ariki-vananga-rangi	Tapu-tapu-atea	"
Te-Ariki-mou-taua	Pa-te-Pou, who was chief when the	
Mai-o-taranga-nuku	Gospel was introduced into Raro-	
20 Te-au-tanga-nuku	tonga. Died 1855.	
Takave	{ Te-Ariki-upoko-tini, }	Died before their
Tui-kuporu	{ Tapu-tapu-atea, }	father.
Te-ariki-eraka	44 Upoko-takau, daughter of Pa-te-Pou.	
Nga-poko akaturanga	Still living.	

This is the genealogy of Pa, *ariki* of Takitumu, written in the time of the Rev. C. Pitman, of Ngati-Tangiia, in the year 1857.

NOTES.

1. The names of the various islands conquered by Tutarangi cannot all now be traced; many of them are the ancient names preserved only in the tradition of the emigrants, whilst they are lost

to the people of the islands themselves. Probably those with the word *Iti* in them are some of the Fiji islands, whilst Tonga is Tongatapu. Matatera was well known to the New Zealand Maori by tradition. Uea is Wallis Island; Vairota is also known traditionally to the New Zealand Maori under the variation *Wærota*; Vavau is no doubt the island of that name in the Tonga group*, and possibly Eremanga may be Eromanga of the New Hebrides. Manuka is Manuá, of Samoa.

2. From Tutarangi to his descendant Iro, there are twenty generations—or about 400 years. It is presumable that this period was that in which the people made their sojourn in Fiji and Samoa, of which so many signs have been left in the former group in the customs, language, and place-names of the people. At about this time also split off from this migration those which settled in Tahiti and other parts, for the Raiatea genealogies contain the names of Moetiiti, Moerekareka (Moere'are'a), Moeterauri, and Hiro, as also do the genealogies of the Maori of New Zealand.

3. Under the name of Nana, in Hawaii, or Ngana, or Nganganai in New Zealand, we find this family very commonly referred to together with a son, or brother, Uru, or Ulu, from both of whom the Hawaiians trace descent, as do the New Zealanders. According to both accounts, there were several of the same name, each with some distinguishing sobriquet.

4. Iro, Hiro, or Whiro, is well known to New Zealand and Tahitian traditions as a great navigator, and many stories have come down to the present time of his doings and voyages, notably his celebrated voyage with Tura to Wawau, and in which will be found the account of the latter's meeting with the strange people called *Ti Aitanga-a-nuku-mai-tore*, who lived in the trees, and who (the Maori story says) did not possess fire. There seems to be some allusion here to the people of New Guinea and New Britain, who live in trees.

5. Mauke is the little island of the Hervey group, near Rarotonga. This meeting with Tangiia has somewhat the same features as that which took place between him and Makea Karika, mentioned in the second paper by Mr Nicholas. The traditions vary as obtained from different sources, and this is only to be expected.

6. The "troubles" here referred to have been related by the Rev John Williams in his "Missionary Enterprises," page 165. From this account it appears that Tu-tapu was a brother of Tangiia's, both of whom lived at Faaa in Tahiti, and, owing to a quarrel about some bread-fruit, Tangiia had to leave with all his followers. He first went to Hauhine, then to Bolabola, then to Maupiti, from each of which islands he was chased by Tu-tapu (who, on this account, received the name of Tu-tapu-arua-roa, or the "relentless pursuer"). Finally,

* The ancient name of Bolabola (Porapora) is Vavao.—ED.

putting to sea in search of a land on which to settle, he met with Makea Karika, who told him of Rarotonga, whither he directed his course, and finally settled down there, as related in this paper.

7. Mr. Nicholas adds that the stone pavements of Tangiia's house are still to be seen at Tauae.

8. Both Mr. Williams and Mr. Nicholas state that Tu-tapu's body had to be carried round the island, and freshly *baked* at each resting-place, before it finally became sufficiently soft to eat.

9. The Mataiapo and Komono are minor chiefs ranking beneath the Arikis, and holding their lands independently.

EDITORS.





MAORI DEITIES.

IT is possible that the " Whence of the Maori " may be determined with more or less precision by ascertaining from what island in the Pacific they have derived the gods to whom they address their *Karakias*, since it cannot be said that a Maori worships anything.

My knowledge on this subject, though limited, leads me to believe that the last migration of the seven canoes to New Zealand did not all come from one and the same island, or group of islands, and my reason for arriving at this conclusion is that among certain of the tribes who have originated from the crews of these canoes deities are recognised which are unknown to other tribes.

The Ngati-porou and Ngati-kahungunu, who are descended from the crews of the Horouta and Takitumu canoes, and also from the ancient tribes Tini-o-awa and Tini-o-Ruatamore, regard Rongomai as their great and beneficent deity, and Kahukura as their malicious and evil spirit. They have also other deities of this class, such as Tute-kanahau, Tungia te Ika, Tungia te Pou, Tahaia, Te Marongorongoro, Tarakumukumu, and Tamaiwaho, this last being the only god who has left descendants on this earth.

The Arawa, Ngati-tuwharetoa, and the Whanganui tribes recognise the god Makawe as their chief deity, and, so far as I can learn, this spirit is known only to those tribes so far as these islands are concerned. But it is possible that a knowledge of his existence may yet be found in some of the islands of the Pacific, and should such be the case it would go far towards locating the starting point of the Arawa, and, perhaps, Aotea canoes.

The last, but perhaps the most interesting of New Zealand tribal deities, is that of the Uriwera tribe. These people are almost entirely descended from the ancient people of New Zealand, who are called by the people of the Bay of Plenty and East Coast the Uri-o-Toi. These people venerate a deity whom they call Te Pou-a-Tuatini. It may be that this god was the presiding genius of the ancient people ; but, if a knowledge of his existence be found in any isle of the Pacific, then it may be assumed that the canoe Matatua came from that place.

Rongomai is, I think, known throughout the Pacific under the name of Rongo, Ro'o, or Lono, but Makawe and Te Pou-a-Tuatini will be interesting subjects for inquiry by our members who have the good fortune to live among the islands of the Pacific—the last home of the Polynesian Race.

W. L. GUDGEON.



THE TAHITIAN "HYMN OF CREATION."

MOERENHOUT, in his "Voyage aux îles du Grand Océan," vol. II., p. 419, gives the hymn below and his translation of it, and Fornander, in the appendix to "The Polynesians," vol. I., also gives the first two parts with his own translation, and remarks: "The third portion of this Chant, as arranged and published by Mr. Moerenhout, which treats of the genesis of the Tahitian gods, is evidently a separate poem, and of very much later date; in short, a local theogony, not even fully recognised on the Society group, and unknown in the neighbouring group."

The first two parts of the "hymn" are of a very elevated character, not often found in Polynesian poems, though the translation published lately by the Rev. G. Pratt and Dr. Fraser, of the "Song about Strife" and the "Samoan Story of Creation," from the original Samoan of the Rev. Mr. Powell (see Transactions Royal Society, Sydney, 1890, p. 207, and also the volume for 1891), partakes somewhat of the same class of ideas characterising the first.* Fornander has corrected in his version of the first two parts some obvious errors of spelling in the original Tahitian, and consequently his translation seems to be more faithful than that of Moerenhout.

Whether or not Fornander is correct in his supposition as to the more modern date of the third part, remains to be proved, and as there are—it appears to the writer—some mistakes in Moerenhout's version, it has been reprinted here, with the hope that some of our Tahitian members will verify the wording, and furnish us with a translation, and any notes that may be obtainable as to the history of the Chant. It is as follows:—

"Taoto a'e ra Taaroa i te vahine,
O hina tua tai te ioa, fanau a'e ra ana
Eoa uri, eoa tea,
Ua taoto a'e ra Taaroa te vahine,

* See also "Te Vanana na Tanaoa"—"The Polynesian Race," vol. I. p. 214.

- 5 Tua uta te ioa, fanau a'ere ana
 O te a'a toro i uta,
 Heemai ra muri, te tupu tupu ura te fanua ;
 Heemai ra muri, te ohu tia mana tei oa (? te ioa) ;
 Heemai ra muri, o aito te buai tei oa (? te ioa) ;
- 10 Heemai ra muri, e vahine, o vaha haa mea, tei oa (? te ioa).
 Taoto Taaroa te vahine, o hina tua nia tei oa ;
 Fanau a'e ra enua enua tei oa ;
 Heemai ra muri, tu oro marama tei oa ;
 Heemai ra muri, o urau ra ua toto.
- 15 Taoto a'e ra Taaroa te vahine, o hina tua raro tei oa ;
 Fanau a'e ra, o te Fatu moe nuru tei oa ;
 Taoto a'e ra Taaroa te vahine o vaa utu,
 Tono tono raa i te nu'u atua
 E tono Te iri, e moa ia, e tono Te Fatu, e moa ia,
- 20 E tono rua nua, e moa ia,
 Tei mua iri te atua Ro'o a rave na e roto
 E pu fanau uporu."

Moerenhout here interpolates—"The legend speaks here of the birth of Ro'o, and of his condition at that time, but in terms which cannot be translated. It enters into long details about his infancy and up to the time that he could walk and run," and then continues the account of the birth of other gods :—

- "Vevetia te vahine a ti faofao,
 Haerea mai ai i rapae i ropu e nuae,
- 25 Tua tua, matui,
 Tua roa, roa vau,
 Ava te tua arii o roo na vea."

The above is a literal transcript from Moerenhout, with the exception that the French "ou" has been converted into Polynesian "u." It is full of inaccuracies, most probably of the printers ; proper names are spelt without capitals, and Moerenhout has sometimes mistaken such names and translated them ; for instance, line 2 : *hina tua* should no doubt be *Hina-tua-tai* ; in line 22, *fanau uporu* cannot be translated ;—"du sein de sa mère," for evidently *uporu* is the island Upolu of the Samoa group. It is clear from Moerenhout's remarks on the part omitted that the composer held the belief that Ro'o, or Rongo, or Lono, was the offspring of Taaroa, or Tangaroa, or Tangaloa, which is not the usual belief of many of the Polynesians, and it would, therefore, be of interest if some of our Tahitian members would supply the missing part and translate the whole, for no doubt the poem, or chant, contains an essential part of Polynesian belief—at any rate such as obtained in the Society Islands at the date of its composition. It is to be hoped that the publication of this poem will elicit from members of the Society in other parts the fact of the existence of similar traditions elsewhere outside Tahiti.



FUTUNA; OR, HORNE ISLAND AND ITS PEOPLE. WESTERN PACIFIC.

THE following notes have been compiled from three French works* published within the last fourteen years, and which it is unlikely the members of the Polynesian Society will see. It has therefore been deemed advisable to abstract from them such parts as bear on the habits, customs, and belief of this branch of the Polynesian Race, and to note a few matters in connection therewith wherein the original works are wanting. The Island possesses an interest to the student of Polynesian matters, as it is situated close to the dividing-line between the pure Polynesians and the Melanesians, being, in fact, only 160 miles north-east of Vanua Levu, of the Fiji Group.

The notes are frequently a literal translation from the French, at other times the information has been summarised from the different works, and brought under one heading for convenience of reference.

This Island must not be confounded with the other Futuna (or Fotuna) situated near the south-eastern end of the New Hebrides Group, and which is also—in part at least—inhabited by Polynesians. The Futuna of which we are about to speak is situated between 14° and 15° south latitude, and in $178^{\circ} 15'$ longitude west. It was discovered by the Dutch expedition under Le Maire and Schouten in 1616, and was by them called “Horne Island,” from the peak on it, the native name of which is *Puke*, a hill about 2,200 feet high. The native name is believed to be derived from *Futu*, a tree which covers the coasts of the Island.†

* 1. “Vie du Bienheureux Pierre-Louis-Marie-Chanel,” by Le R. P. Nicholet, published by Emanuel Vitta, 3, Place Bellicour, Lyon, 1890. 2. “Mgr. Bataillon,” by Le R. P. Mangeret, 2 vols., published by V. Le Coffre, 90, Rue Bonaparte, Paris, 1884. 3. “Dictionnaire Futunien-Français,” by Le R. P. Grezél, published by Maisonneuve et Cie, 25, Quai Voltaire, Paris, 1878.

† Although first known to Europeans through Le Maire and Schouten, the Tongans, and no doubt others, had made voyages to Futuna long before those navigators. Captain Cook, in his third voyage, mentions the Island amongst

Père Chanel, from whose letters most of the information has been derived, was left on the Island with Frere Marie Nizier by the well-known Bishop Pompallier on the 12th November, 1838, in order to convert the natives. He was brutally murdered by the people a few years afterwards, but lived to see some progress made towards the end he had in view, and to which his noble life and martyr's death contributed not a little. The Rev. Father therefore saw the people in their original savage state, and hence the value of his observations.

The Island is some times called on the charts "*Allofatu*." Under the denomination of Futuna are comprehended two isles, which are separated by a small arm of the sea. The largest, which may have a circumference of nine or ten leagues, bears the name of Futuna, whilst the other, of less extent, has that of Alofi. The two isles are very broken: they enclose deep valleys and hills of considerable height, and the people, like so many of the Polynesian Race, account to themselves satisfactorily for these inequalities by the following well-known story, which is common to a great part of the Pacific, though differing in detail in each:—

"Maui-Alonga, a god who never worked except by favour of darkness, was one day informed by Te-Ailo-ito, his porter, that there were in the depths of the ocean shoals of fish—that is to say, many groups of isles. The same evening the god embarked in his canoe, and cast his fishing line. He was successful in hauling up an island. So soon as one appeared above the surface he jumped on to it, and gamboled about with the intention of making it flat. In this manner he fished-up and flattened out several islands. Now the daylight, which would interrupt his work, commenced to appear. Maui hastened to cast his line for the last time. This island came up, and the god jumped on to it, but he was only able to make a few springs because of the daylight. Hence all the irregularities of surface that are to be seen in Futuna."

In the above myth, we recognise the bare outline of one of Maui's great feat, which other branches of the race have related with full detail. All the principal groups inhabited by the Polynesians have the story in some shape, as have some of the Melanesians.* Maui-Alonga, of Futuna, is probably Maui-(tiki-tiki)-a-Taranga, of the New Zealanders, and some other branches of the race.

others known to the Tongans, though he himself did not recognise it under its native name. The Rarotonga tradition mention the conquest by their ancestors of the adjacent Island of Uea or Wallis, and no doubt they would equally know Futuna; but, if so, it was by a name not now recognised. This conquest took place in the early history of the migrations to the Pacific. See "*Genealogy of Pa*" in the present number of this Journal.

* See "*Oceania*," by the Rev. D. Macdonald, of Efate, New Hebrides. In Efate it is Maui-tuki-tuki who hauled up the Island; in Fotuna, New Hebrides, it is Mo-shishiki; in Tanna, Ma-tiktiki; and in Aneityum, Moi-tikitiki.

The natives of Futuna have also another myth, common to several of the islands. The Island is volcanic, and subject to earthquakes. The natives give the following account of the reason for them:—"According to them, the god, Mafu-isse-Fulu, or Mafu-ike-Fulu (Mafu-ike in Samoa, Niue, and Tonga; Mahuika in New Zealand), sleeps at a great depth under the Island: when he has slept for the space of one year on one side, he turns himself to sleep on the other, and it is the effort which he makes that causes the earth to shake. If the crater re-opened, they would be able to add that it is still *Mafu-isse* who blows the fires, and their fable would be as poetic as that of Enceladus amongst the ancients."

Futuna is of great fertility, and seen from the sea it appears like a bouquet of flowers and verdure. The streams are abundant, the water limpid and good, and the animals and plants common to the other islands are found there. At the end of this paper is given a list of some of the plants, etc., the native names of which are common to many of the islands of the Pacific, from which we may deduce the fact that a number of them were brought with the people in their various migrations from the East Indian Archipelago, and applied to the plants most resembling the vegetation of their older home.

THE PEOPLE.

It has already been stated that the people belong to the Polynesian race. They have all their exterior characters: they are of a fair height, of a strong constitution, and well proportioned. Their colour is light copper, and their forms are well developed. They are intelligent and industrious. The clothing (*lava*) consists of leaves, of *tapa* (or as they call it *siapo*,* as in Samoa and Tonga), or of mats, with which they clothe themselves from the waist down to the knees. The same materials are used by both sexes, the only differences being in the manner of wearing their garments. It is only when fishing or at work that they content themselves with a simple waist band, or *malo*, or *tau-nape*. The people are cleanly in their habits, and are fond of bathing daily. The dry weather, in depriving them of sufficient fresh water to bathe in, is looked on as a great affliction.

The men allow their hair to grow long, softening it with perfumed oil (*Faka-taka-la-la*), and ordinarily tie it in a knot on the summit of the head; but they let it fly loose when they meet a chief, a relative, or a friend, as a mark of respect. To traverse a village without rendering this testimony of respect, would be to commit an offence sufficiently grave to induce a declaration of war.†

The women wear their hair short, but allow one or two tufts

* Hence, probably, the New Zealand word *hiapo*, and *hiako*, or bark, from which the *siapo* is made.

† This is the custom also of the Wallis Islanders, and of those of Rotuma.

(*ponga*) to grow, which they arrange, according to their manner, as an ornament to gratify their vanity. At the death of a near relative they shave their heads in token of mourning. The young girls allow their hair to grow long until the time of marriage, when it is cut short. Like most Polynesians they occasionally whiten the hair with lime, called *lase*, or cover it with ashes, termed *lefu*.

There is a personal ornament the Futunians use of which they are very vain. It consists in dividing the face in four symmetrical squares, two black and two red. The first is simply painted with charcoal, the others with the juice of a root which they collect and prepare in common, with all the joyous sports which characterise amongst us the vintage. The people of both sexes habitually carry suspended in the lobes of their ears various flowers, shark teeth, or shells.

The people of Futuna, Père Chanel tells us, are very hospitable. They are not inclined to stealing, like most of the inhabitants of other islands of Oceania, and their manners are soft and pleasant. After a hurricane, however, when much of their food was usually destroyed, stealing was looked on as a venial offence.

The principal acts of life become the occasions of rejoicing, accompanied by festivals, dances, and games, as the following descriptions of some of their customs will show:—

TATOOING (*Ta-tatau*)

is practised at Futuna as in most of the other islands. The operator provides himself with an implement made of tortoise shell, the form of which resembles a comb, furnished with five or six sharp points. This is dipped into a black pigment and forced into the flesh with slight blows of a stick. By means of these punctures different designs are formed, which cover the body from the loins to just above the knee. Their arms are covered with designs in the same manner. The women content themselves with a number of fanciful lines on their hands and forearms. The operation is always the occasion of a fête, and to divert the thoughts of the patient from the pain his friends sing and recite the songs of the country.

CIRCUMCISION (*Kulanga*.)

The people have this custom. Their male children, so soon as they arrive at the age of puberty, are submitted to it. Although the ceremony has not in their eyes any religious signification it constitutes one of the most solemn periods of their lives. When the time for it arrives they invite all the children of a valley of the proper age (*tuka-tuka*) to some particular house. During the first five days which follow the operation they are not allowed to go outside, and pass their time in eating and sleeping. At the end of that time the circumcised are painted black and red, and they are said to be “attired in the interior of the house” (*Faka-maa-fale*). They renew the ceremony five

days afterwards, and then they are said to be "attired to go forth." (*Faka-maa-fofo*.) Lastly, fifteen days after the ceremony, the relations collect together—the circumcised clothed in the cloth of the country—and celebrate a fête, in which the food is served in abundance. That fête is called *Faka-maa*, or "permission to go forth."

CANNIBALISM,

so common in the other islands, was introduced into Futuna by Veliteki, one of the last kings of the district of Poi, in consequence of a dreadful tempest which had brought on a disastrous famine. It became in time, owing to their perverse instincts, a dreadful scourge, which threatened to depopulate the Island. "The desire to eat human flesh," says Père Chevron, "arrived at such a point that wars did not suffice to furnish the victims for their horrible festivals, and the people took to hunting down members of their own tribes. Men, women, and children, old and young, friends or foes, were killed without distinction. They have been known even to eat the members of their own families; mothers have roasted the fruits of their own bodies. I was shown once an old man who alone survived from the oven out of a village of three hundred souls." Thus the population, prior to the introduction of Christianity, was decreasing in a terrible manner. It did not comprise more than one thousand souls when Père Chanel first arrived at the Island. Niu-like, Chief of Singave, had already interdicted, under the most severe punishment, the eating of human flesh, and the arrival of the Rev. Father finally put a stop to it.

INFANTICIDE.

But even if Niu-like had thus put an end to one atrocious custom, he had not succeeded in putting down another—that of the killing of infants. That horrible usage, tolerated by pagan manners, arose in some sort from the nature of the marriages, which in Futuna, as in other islands of Polynesia, had nothing of a religious character about them. It was a simple formality which did not involve any inviolate engagement, and was broken from the slightest motives. Separation engendered disgust, hatred, and vengeance. How many infants have not owed their death to unions ruptured with so much facility? "It was not even felt as a shame for a mother to kill her children. Some there are who have destroyed as many as six. Ordinarily the child was crushed before birth by pressing the body with heavy stones, at other times they were stifled at birth, or were buried alive in the sand."

MARRIAGE (*Fakamau*.)

The reader will easily understand that marriage gives rise to rejoicings of a solemn nature. When a young man wishes to marry he makes a demand, through his relatives, for the girl he desires to

espouse. The proposition is always accompanied by presents.* Usage accords three days to the relatives in which to give or refuse assent ; if the latter, they in their turn send presents to those from whom they have received them, and this is taken as a proof that the marriage will not take place. In the case of acceptance of the offer, no response is made. At the end of the fourth day after the proposal the friends of the young man prepare food in great quantity, and carry it to the house of the relatives of the lady. The two families, and often the inhabitants of many valleys, unite for the marriage-feast, to which succeed games, songs, and dances. In the life of Monsignor Elloy, page 346, we find that "a miserable vanity—remains of paganism—had rendered the practice of marriage rare, and hence were engendered and propagated grave abuses. It was required formerly in order that a marriage should be reputed honourable, that the family of the young man should furnish a great quantity of hogs, so that the festivities might be prolonged for several days, and that the young woman should display a proportionate number of fine mats (*kie-sina*); the wife, therefore, cost a great deal. A small number of families only were found in a condition to furnish these requisitions of two of our capital sins, and rather than avow in public their inferiority of fortune they preferred to abandon their offspring to clandestine unions, which succeeded one another in disorder."

The day after the marriage fête—which often lasts several days—the wedded pair receive a species of nuptial consecration. They paint their faces and cover themselves with flowers, and put on their best mats. Afterwards they go before the *toe-matua*, or priest of the family, who causes the bride to sit at the foot of the "sacred column" (*pae-atua*), during which he conjures his god to accord to her the blessing of fertility. The chiefs indulged in polygamy, called by them *tinifu*.

DEATH AND BURIAL.

At Futuna, the funerals were more or less solemn, according to the age, the rank, or the merit of the defunct. After death, the corpse was anointed with a perfumed oil, and its visage painted with red and black. Its breast was covered with a fine mat, and for a day before burial they exposed the corpse at the entrance of its house. The relatives and friends assembled in crowds, and poured out their tears (*songi-mala* and *tangi*), making the most lamentable cries the while. They would tear their breasts and faces with their nails, or with shells ; the women howling and pronouncing those exclamations of sorrow which was their peculiar right. When the time of burial had

* The present of a hog is called *Pu-umu*. Père Grezél says in his dictionary " *Pu-umu*, present of a cooked hog that the Futunian formerly made to the parents of a person he desired to marry. The pig was left, without saying anything, at the house of the parents, and the donor retired. If the parents retained the pig it was a sign of consent to the marriage, but if they returned it it was a sign of refusal."

arrived, each one approached and pressed his nose against that of the defunct (*songi*), thus taking a final farewell. The grave—dug near the house—was covered with fine sand, and four days after interment the tomb was surrounded by stones (*pae-pae*), more or less large, according to the dignity or rank of the deceased. During ten days at least the grave was sprinkled in the morning with perfumed oil, and in the evening it was covered with fine mats made of the beautiful *siapo*. The near relatives, in sign of mourning, cut their hair, more or less close, and clothed themselves in their coarsest garments, whilst they refrained from bathing, and from time to time renewed the sanguinary scenes of the day of decease.

Ordinarily the funerals were followed by a grand feast, to which succeeded dances (*lau-fola*, *kikisi*, and *saka*), and pugilistic encounters (*vusu*). It was the custom on the death of a chief to distribute his fine mats, or *siapo*, to the different villages; and on that of the king to hold a mimic war, called *fakatu*, which was accompanied by excesses of various kinds.

BELIEF IN A FUTURE STATE.

But what, in the ideas of the Futunians, becomes of the soul? They call it *mauli*—the life—and believe it immortal. They admit of two future lives: the one happy, the other unhappy. To hold a part in the first, it was necessary to have honoured the gods, respected the *tapu*, obeyed the chiefs, to be married, and above all to have poured out blood on the field of battle. They represented *langi* (heaven) as a country where are to be found in abundance all sorts of foods, games, and divers amusements. *Pulotu*, was also a name of their heaven, or residence of the gods, a name known and used to express the same ideas by the Samoans and Tongans, to which branches of the race and their off-shoots it appears to be confined, a very notable fact. In the middle of *langi* there grew an immense tree named *puka-tala*, of which the leaves were able to supply all their wants; when cooked in an oven they turned into all sorts of delicious foods.* Directly the happy inhabitants of *langi* felt themselves growing old, they had but to bathe in the life giving waters of Lake *Vaiola*, and they came forth full of life and beauty.† The place of honour in *langi* was reserved for those who fell in battle. Nevertheless, before entering into heaven, the soul wandered four days around the place where it left its earthly body, and during that time the relatives feel it incumbent on them to search for it. They placed themselves at the

* The Père Monfat, in his "Les Samoa," page 171, speaking of the Hades at the West end of Savaii, says:—"Another tree is found there, the *puka-tala*, of which the leaves themselves make for the fortunate spirits a *cuisine*, exquisite and varied, according to the taste of the most fastidious."

† Père Monfat, tells us, in the work quoted, that the same belief is common in Samoa, and that the lake was situated at the foot of *puka-tala*. Our readers will recognise *Te-wai-ora-a-Tane*, known to so many branches of the Polynesian race,

very spot where the deceased had died—where they extended a mat—then retired a little way off, and watched attentively for the first insect or reptile which alighted on it, or even for the shadow of a bird flying over. As soon as such an event occurred, they folded up the mat with care, and buried it near the corpse, for, to them, the soul of the warrior had passed into the insect, or whatever it might be that had alighted on the mat.*

Père Chanel says, after a battle which had just been fought:—"The fourth day after the combat, we found several women at Tuatafa, who had gone to cry (over the dead), and to observe into what animal or insect the souls of the defunct persons had entered." On arrival at Singave, he heard it said that one had passed into a fly, another into some other insect.

The ordinary people (*seka*), who were not worthy of heaven, went, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, into the "Home of the dead"—*fale-mate*. Each family or clan had its own; either a hollow in a tree, a rock, &c. There resided a god called Atua-mata-lua, or "the god with two eyes." After living there a certain period they died a second time, and then went to the realms of another god named Atua-mata-tasi, or "the one-eyed god." Dying a third time, they found themselves under the empire of a god named Atua-mangu-mangu, a god deaf, dumb, blind, and without mouth or nose. Whilst living with these various gods the soul became like them in all respects, preserving two eyes with the first, one with the second, and losing with the third their eyes, ears, mouth, and nose, and remained in a living state without hope of ever seeing an end to this deplorable state. Whilst with these gods they had nothing to live on but reptiles and insects, such as lizards, ants, centipedes and earthworms.

The celibates—both men and women—had to submit to a chastisement of their own before entering the *fale-mate*.

THE TAPU.

This form of interdiction was very common, as with all Polynesians. "They go so far as to *tapu* the day—*e.g.*, to interdict all work in order to please the gods, or to avert the hurricanes. The King has the right to establish a *tapu* on various objects, and no one dare violate it on pain of the anger of the gods. It is generally applied on great occasions in concert, and with the approbation of the chiefs, when they *tapu* the hogs, the cocoanuts, the breadfruit, yams, &c., so that no one shall partake of them until the day of feast." Although all things might from time to time become *tapu* at the will of the King or great chiefs, "there is one thing only which is always *tapu*. No one but the King, who rejoices in the title of *Malo*, or conqueror, has a right to the turtles (*fouu*) caught off the coast, or

* The Samoans have the same custom as this.

may even kill one. Near to each royal residence is a place set apart especially for the killing of them, and it is an occasion of great ceremony when one is despatched." This is a custom common to most of the Polynesians.* "It is an occasion of great ceremony when one is killed. All is in movement to prepare the fire that is to cook the turtle. When all is ready the King puts on his insignia of rank, which are : The end of a cocoanut leaf passed round his neck, a small piece of white *tapa* on his right arm as a bracelet, a small strip of bamboo in his right hand, and with which he strikes each morsel of turtle that is presented to him. This is done to remove the *tapu*."

They had a custom called *nonoa*, which appears to answer to the *rahui* of other islands. It consisted in marking for personal use a cocoanut tree or other thing by tying round it a string, a creeping plant, &c.

WAR AND PEACE.

The Islanders appear to have been frequently at war with one another, the large island being divided into two realms or *puleanga*, the chiefs of which assume the title of *Malo*, or conqueror, according to whichever obtained the ascendancy. The northern chief appears to have had his capital in the district of Tua, at the village of Poi, whilst his rival lived at the village and harbour of Singave, at the southern end of the Island. The Island of Alofi was always obliged to submit to the yoke of the conqueror, and, in consequence of the wars, has now only one village, though formerly very populous. The following incident illustrates an interesting ceremony in connection with the installation of a new King :—

The chief of the vanquished party (Vanae), whose residence was at Singave, and who had prevailed, by means of presents, in securing from the *Malo* the presence of two priests named Semuu and Urui, went through a ceremony which appears to have been undertaken with the view of recovering his prestige lost in the last war (*taua*). Père Chanel says: "The crowning of the King of the conquered party or Faka-alofa, took place on the 30th July. From early morning the chiefs and old men collected in the house of Vanae. The three principal gods of Futuna—Faka-veli-kele, Songia, and Fitu—spoke in their turn after the *kava*. [Presumably the Père means they spoke through their accustomed mouthpieces—the priests.] Then their war songs were recited, both before and after the breakfast. Towards 10 o'clock the place, or *malae*, which is before the house of Vanae, was occupied by the chiefs, the warriors, and the people. Those who had some function to fulfil were in their places, when Vanae advanced between Semuu and Urui towards the "sacred stone." A solemn

* See "Transactions New Zealand Institute," vol. xxii., page 96, where particulars of the ceremonies connected with the killing and offering of the turtle, as prevailing in Tongareva or Penrhyn Island in the olden times, are described.

silence reigned amongst the assembly. Semuu took a shell, and cut three pieces of cocoanut leaf, which he placed on the top of a piece of *tapa*. Vanae at that time was sitting close to the 'sacred stone.' The 'first Minister' (Tui-savaka), accompanied by all the chiefs, advanced gravely. He had round his neck a cocoanut leaf*. He took the three pieces deposited on the *tapa*, and, kneeling before Vanae, passed round his neck these signs of royalty, pronouncing at the same time certain words. All then squatted down three times, raising simultaneously a great shout. Vanae, thus crowned King, distributed a piece of white *tapa* to each chief in order to reinstate him in his ancient rank. *Kava* was then served in accordance with the ceremonies reserved to the conquerors. Then they thanked Faka-veli-kele for having obligingly quitted the other side of the Island to take up his residence with them, and made offering to him of a fine roast pig surrounded by several baskets of *taro*. After an abundant distribution of food the people sang and danced till the evening."

This "crowning" (or *Faka-taupalā*) of Vanae led to a war between the two parties, in which numbers were killed. The following is the account of the commencement:—

DECLARATION OF WAR.

"A number of the young men of Singave arrived at Niu-lik's settlement whilst he and his people were absent in their cultivations. They deposited nine roast hogs in the court (*malae*) before Niu-lik's house, then rapidly made a rough litter, on which they placed a small piece of white *tapa*, and then, after several war cries, the litter was taken up by a number of men, who, shouting at the top of their voices, carried it off to Singave. The people declare that they have taken away the god of Niu-lik. On the return of the latter and his people they were greatly enraged and made immediate preparations for war. First, all seated themselves, and the king (Niu-lik) and the gods (priests) harangued the people. Then they offered *kava* to the gods which had been stolen, and subsequently distributed the roast hogs. One of the *atuas* (priests) spoke with such animation and elevation of voice that it was like distant thunder."

"On the approach of war they offer a *kava* root to the gods, together with a spear of bamboo, both of which are deposited at the foot of the 'sacred stone'; the ceremony is accompanied with three great war cries. After this the warriors depart for the contest," armed with spears, tomahawks, and clubs. Declarations of war were made by sending to the opposing party a piece of *tapa*, called *pau-veli-le-kele*. In going forth to battle the warriors dress themselves in their

* Those who were privileged to wear this emblem were called *Kau-lau-niu*, from *kau*, a company, *lau*, a leaf, *niu*, the cocoanut.

best; those of repute wear a crown of feathers. The spears (*tao*) were thrown by hand, and an adroit warrior would ward them off, catch them in his hand, and return them from whence they came.* Some of their spears were barbed. The women accompanied the men to the fight, and remained in the rear to stop the fugitives and cause them to return to the battle field, a custom called *Kupenga-fafine*.

SMEARING WITH BLOOD.

After a battle which the good Père attended, in order to help the wounded, he says:—"Amongst the wounded was found the brother of the vanquished King (*Vanae*). It was sad to see his wife collect in her hands the blood which had flowed from his wounds, and throw it on to her head, whilst she uttered piercing cries. All the relatives of the wounded collected in the same manner the blood which had flowed from them, down even to the last drop, and they even applied their lips to the leaves of the shrubs and licked it all up to the last drop." This smearing of the face with blood was very common with the New Zealanders and other branches of the race.

MAKING OF PEACE.

As was the custom with the Polynesians, "women were sent as peace-makers: the daughter of *Niu-iki*, the King, and wife of another of the chiefs went to the vanquished with presents of European cloth." In another place, we read:—"The solemn act which should cement the peace took place on the 22nd August, in the following manner:—The King and his chiefs went to *Nuku* (a village near *Singave*), and after a short rest they directed their course towards the mountains on which the vanquished had entrenched themselves. They soon discovered four old men, with their hands joined, their heads covered with ashes, and a branch of green-wood on their breasts. A basket filled with presents preceded them; they followed in solemn silence. Arrived where the young men had planted some branches for shade, all sat down together. The *kava* was then prepared, the four old men assisting, but leaving their places occupied by their green branches. The basket was then opened, and two natives placed before the King the pieces of *tapa* which it contained. The principal chiefs of the conquering party, or *Malo*, then arose, and congratulated the old men on their submission and on their love for their country. The King spoke

* The Maoris and the Hawaiians were very expert in catching spears thrown at them. Prof. W. D. Alexander, in his "Brief History of the Hawaiian people," says:—"They used no shields, but were wonderfully expert in catching and warding off spears thrown at them. Vancouver relates that in a sham fight he saw six spears cast at once at *Kamehameha I.*, of which he caught three, parried two, and avoided the sixth by a quick movement of the body."

in his turn, and on completion of his discourse their relatives approached and embraced them."

THE GODS OF FUTUNA.

It is somewhat strange that none of the works from which these notes are culled make any mention of the great gods of Polynesia (except Tangaloa, who holds quite a secondary place), *i.e.*, the gods of first rank, for Maui, already mentioned, is merely one of the second order, if not simply a deified man. It would be somewhat hazardous to risk the statement that this branch of the race is unacquainted with Tangaloa, Rongo, Tane, and Tu, who everywhere else in Polynesia are known, though not equally venerated. One would expect from a study of their language, and the customs noted above, that the Futunians belong to that branch of the race which peopled Samoa and Tonga, and more especially the latter, and that therefore Tangaloa would find an exalted niche in their Pantheon, whilst perhaps Tane might be unknown or not held in so great esteem, he being, as the writer has reason for believing, the special god of quite a different migration to that of the Tongans and Samoans. But no notice of these great gods occurs, whilst their particular gods are several times mentioned, of whom Faka-veli-kele is the principal and most powerful. The absence of a knowledge of the great gods of Polynesia apparently characterises also the belief of the people of the neighbouring isle of Uea or Wallis, whose principal deity was Kakahu (perhaps the Kahu-kura of the rest of Polynesia). But this people does, however, know the name of Tangaloa, for they accredited him with the same feat of fishing up their island as the Futunians do to Maui. For reasons, which will be given when treating of Uea, it is believed that this change is due to their intercourse with Tonga, where Tangaloa is the god who fished up that group, and that the story is not native to the soil.

The following are the gods of Futuna so far as can be ascertained from the works quoted:—Faka-veli-kele, who occupies the supreme rank, Atua-mata-lua, Atua-mata-tasi, Atua-mangu-mangu, Songia, Fitu, Atalua (a female), Fau-whenua, Fine-lasi, Kuli (the dog), Lita (a female), Mango, Mafuiké, Sakumani, Tao-fia-like, Te-ailoilo (who stood at the gate of heaven and noted all who passed), and lastly Tangaloa, but evidently not the great god of that name.

The general name for the gods was *Atua*, as in the rest of Polynesia, and their attributes appear to have been of the same mischievous nature as elsewhere. They were of the first and second order. "The principal one has a name which is not of a flattering nature, *i.e.*, Faki-veli-kele, he who makes the land bad. Under him in power and importance are several called *Atua-muli*, but the three

principal gods of Futuna are Faka-veli-kele, Songia, and Fitu. All evils were attributed to them; they persecuted the people with sickness and death. Invocations and offerings were made to them on several occasions. Each god had its separate house, and each one was supposed to have power over different parts of the body, and to them offerings were made in case of sickness or disease affecting particular parts. Sickness was said to be caused by the god eating the body of the afflicted." They were apparently represented by idols, and were fickle in their attachment to and protection of any particular chief, as already stated in the case of Vanae, who, by aid of the two priests, attracted to his side the special god of the King Niu-liki, his opponent. Père Chanel says, on visiting Vanae's *malae*, "What was my surprise to see in the place of honour usually occupied by Vanae a morsel of *tapa*, and above it three cocoanut leaves. I learned that this religious ceremony was intended as an invitation to Faka-veli-kele to come and repose in that agreeable verdure." *

OFFERINGS TO THE GODS.

In case of sickness offerings were made to the gods of fruit, fine mats, cloth, and other objects of value, which became the property of the priests. The sick themselves were carried to "those who have the gods," *i.e.*, the priests, when offerings were made, and in the event of non-success with one they were taken to another god to secure a return of health. Fêtes were given and offerings made to avert hurricanes, which often do great damage to the bread-fruit, bananas, &c., on which the people mostly subsist, and the duration of which was supposed to depend on the will of particular gods. In the case of an appeal to the personl god of Malingi, the King's "first minister," or Tui-Savaka, the feast commenced in the evening and lasted over the next day, whilst, when the god of the King was appealed to, the invocations and feasting lasted for seven days, ending in a religious fête. The following is an account of the ceremony connected with the offerings to appease the gods and cause them to avert famine:—"The first bread-fruit and early yams are saved. The crowd retired after prayers had been offered by Falima, who had demanded of the god a cessation of the wind, a less powerful sun, fruit and water in abundance, many fish in the sea, and finally a termination of his anger towards his people. The invocations continued for several days. At the end of that time a procession was formed by the men, each one holding in his hand a banana leaf as a "palm branch."

* It will be noted what an important part in all their ceremonies the cocoanut leaf always played, and generally in the shape of three leaves. The three leaves in Tahiti were called *tapaau*, and were there equally connected with their ceremonies. See also Transactions N.Z. Institute, Vol. XXII., page 96.

On the illness of Niu-lik's son, that chief carried "a finger of his father-in-law" as an offering to one of the gods. Generally a root of *kava* formed part of every offering. The allusion to the "finger" above, and the fact that Père Grezél gives the meaning of the word *mutu* as "the remains of a finger cut off," would seem to show that these people possessed the Tongan custom of cutting off a joint of a finger in sign of mourning.

The natives are persuaded that the gods take up their residence in the great chiefs or the King, and hence their fear and reverence for them: they never look directly at the King in addressing him.

RAIN-MAKING.

The people believe in the efficacy of offerings to the gods to procure rain. Père Chenal says: "A great pagan ceremony (*lau-ifi**) took place to-day to procure rain. A number of people proceeded to the summit of a mountain to convey to the god who has power over the rain, quantities of cooked bananas, taro, fish, &c. All of them passed the night there under the stars, persuaded that their wishes would be fulfilled the following night." And again: "The dry weather continuing, the King and several chiefs held a council (*fono*) as to the advisabilities of building a house in honour of Faka-veli-kele in order that he might send rain, and that the harvest of bread-fruit might be plentiful. The most experienced workmen of each village assembled at Poi to polish with their best art the wood for a house which they are going to build on the mountain with the intention of thereby procuring rain."

FÊTE IN HONOUR OF THE GODS.

Having fixed the day of the festival "The drums (*ta* or *lali*) were beaten to announce it. They made toasts (*sic*) to the gods at the *malae* in front of the King's house. A *kava* root is offered by the King to a chief of Singave as commission to invite all those of the other side of the island to attend the *fête*. As the dance enters into the programme of all their ceremonies the natives prepare for it with much care, and practice the various exercises the evening before. On the day arranged a great number of people gathered together. All was conducted with the ceremony prescribed on such occasions. The contributions of food brought by the visitors of the various valleys was at first all presented to the King, who presided in person. His first Minister recites a prayer; afterwards—by order of the King—the food

* The *lau-ifi* ceremony consisted in painting the forehead with ashes in sign of humility, and was used equally in approaching the King to beg a favour. *Lefu* is the term for ashes, and also the act of painting with them. *Paninga* means also the same thing.

is distributed to the chiefs of each village, and by them again to each family forming their particular clan. After the feast the dance commences. A hollow trunk of a tree serves for a drum, and he who performs on it is surrounded by a number of people, who accompany his drumming with chants. The dancers themselves are divided into two groups, the men on one side, and the women on the other ; they unite their voices with those of the choir, and execute simultaneous movements, each agitating a battledore (*pallette*) sometimes with one hand, sometimes with the other. During the dance several girls of from 15 to 20 years of age, belonging to the royal family or to those of the chiefs, stood upright near the King, as in a place of honour. They were superbly painted in red and black, but took no part in the dance. They were replaced successively by girls from the other valleys in their turn."

SACRED STONES.

Mention has been made more than once of these stones, or *pae-atua*. "Before the house of each principal chief of a valley is a sacred stone, which the natives never touch for fear of Faka-veli-kele. They are something like milestones in appearance ; the largest are in size about a yard square, the smaller ones from 15 to 20 inches. These stones are held in great respect by all, and the King alone has the right to sit near it, or sometimes, whilst presiding at a feast, to use it as a support whilst sitting." Some parts of the houses are also sacred, such as the space between the two principal supports of the roof, between which the people never pass for fear of offending Faka-veli-kele. No one would even touch these "divine columns." The *atua muli*, or minor gods, have their presence denoted in the forests by baskets suspended from the trees.

TWIRLING THE COCOANUT.

The Futunians have a custom called *takale*, which appears to be identical with one described by Marriner as common in Tonga, and which is not known, it is believed, in any other of the islands inhabited by the Polynesians. Père Chanel says :—"In the case of the non-success of offerings made to a god to cure sickness, they decide which god shall next be applied to by 'spinning a cocoanut,'" and no doubt—though the Rev. Père does not say so—the direction in which it falls indicates that of the most propitious god to address ; such, at least, was the Tongan custom.

OFFERINGS

of the first fruits to the gods was common, and to the principal personages at a feast, when it was called *faka-ulu*, and presents of food, called *omoe*, were made to those who decorated the dancers for a feast. In offerings of food to a god on behalf of a child, the name of

the child was not mentioned, but it was alluded to as the *unga*, for fear that the god would not listen, or, perhaps, do the child some harm—a most peculiar contradiction of ideas.

The King was called *Sau*—the *Hau* of other islands; it also meant a reign—and many of the chiefs of various parts appear to have had titles in addition to their names: Such as—*Manifa*, he who sits on the King's right hand in a feast; *Sakafu*, one of his Ministers; *Moa-akula*, one who sits beside the *Sakafu*; *Mua*, he who distributes the food at a feast. Some of the titles of chiefs of the various valleys were—*Manafa*, of *Fiua* Valley; *Saangongo*, of the *Pouma* District; *Safei-sau*, of the District of *Olu*; *Safei-tonga*, of the District of *Tufu-one*; *Tiafoi*, of the Valley of *Fikavi*.

The priests were called *Vaka-atua*, or *Faasinga-tapu*; they were either male or female. We may suppose the first name to originate from the fact of the priests becoming possessed by the gods when communicating with mankind—*Vaka* meaning canoe, *atua* god.*

Père Grezél says that the first Futunian was named *Nimo*, and that he was the “tabernacle of *Faka-veli-kele*.” It is much to be regretted that we have not a little more information as to *Nimo*, and of the folk-lore of this interesting branch of the Polynesian race. No doubt they had—possibly still have—stores of traditions like other islanders. To preserve some of these before they are finally lost would be a work of great utility and interest, and would add honour to the names of those who have the opportunity of doing so. Père Grezél has rendered a very great service to science by the publication of his excellent dictionary of the language, which contains, roughly, about 5000 words, many of which have a great number of meanings. If his compatriots would preserve some of the poetry and traditions of the people they would confer a lasting debt of gratitude on all students of Polynesian matters.

The following are the names of some of the stars, the general name for which is *fetu* :—

Fetu-ao, Venus (when a morning star).
Fetu-aāsoa, Jupiter or Saturn (a planet).
Fetu-ea, Jupiter or Saturn (a planet).
Fetau-ngapepe, two small stars near the Southern Fish.
Filo-momea, the Eastern Star of the Twins.
Kaniva, the milky way.
Kau-amonga, the Eagle.
Maafu-lele, the nebula west of the Magellan Clouds.
Maafu-toka, the nebula east of the Magellan Clouds.
Moa, the Southern Cross.
Malama-kainga, Venus.
Mata-iki, the Pleiades.

Munifa, one of the constellations, with four stars, something like the cross.
Palolo-mua, Sirius.
Palolo-muli, Regulus.
Sumu, the dark spot, or “coal sacks,” in the milky way.
Tanuma, the Southern Crown in Sagittarius.
Tapuke-tea, the Western Star of the Twins.
Tau-tama, the Twins.
Tau-taina, the two bright stars in the compass.
Tiko-tara, a star.
Tolu, the three stars of Orion's belt.

* In New Zealand *waka* means the “medium of a god” as well as “canoe.”—ED.

Certain stars presided over the months. The following names are copied from Père Grezél's grammatical notes at the commencement of his dictionary:—

“The natives of the isle give to the stars, which they use for that purpose, the general name of *tupua*:—

- 1st. *Ualoa*, April. Three stars in line, of which two are quite close.
- 2nd. *Tulahupe*, May. Four stars, representing a pigeon roosting.
- 3rd. *Mata-iki*, June. Pleiades.
- 4th. *Tolu*, July. Orion's belt.
- 5th. *Palolo-mua*, August. Sirius.
- 6th. *Palolo-muli*, September. Regulus.
- 7th. *Munifa*, October. Four stars forming a small square.
- 8th. *Tauafu*, November. The lesser rains.
- 9th. *Vai-mua*, first great rains.
- 10th. *Vai-muli*, second great rains.
- 11th. *Lisa-mua*, December. First great winds.
- 12th. *Lisa-muli*, January. Second great winds.
- 13th. *Faka-afu-ola*, February. Lessening winds.
- 14th. *Faka-afu-mate*, March. Last winds.

“The ignorance of the Futunians as to the calculation of time was excessive. They never count by days nor weeks, but by the moon alone; and for that purpose they use the stars, of which the general name is *tupua*, but which they design by a particular name, according to its emblem, or sign. Such are the first seven months; the seven others take their names from the variations of the season, from the lesser rains, the greater rains, etc. The ninth and tenth divisions have no corresponding ones in our months, which arises no doubt from the fact that the Futunians always intercalate one part of the month in another, as I have many times remarked in their conversation.

“The Futunians divide the year into two parts: *tau-mua* and *tau-muli*. The *tau-mua* dates from the first planting of the yams, which takes place after the last month of the hurricanes; it corresponds therefore to the month of April, since the four months of hurricane are January, February, and March, *Lisa-mua*, *Lisa-muli*, &c. The *tau-muli*, or last plantation of yams, is the second epoch which they use to arrange their work; it is very variable, and the true month cannot exactly be fixed.”

Of the above names of the months, only a few can be recognised as common to other Polynesian Islands, these are:—*Paroro*, July in Rarotonga; *Fa'a-ahu*, February, *Paroro-mua*, *Paroro-muri*, June and July in Tahiti; *Makali* (*Mata-riki*), January in Hawaii; *Ua'oa* (*Uaroa*), January in Marquesas; *Fa'ahu*, March, *Palolo-mua*, *Palolo-muli*, July and August in Samoa; *Munifa*, September in Samoa. Not having the names of the months in Tonga, they cannot be compared, but it is reasonable to suppose that some correspondence will be found, for the language and customs are perhaps more akin to those of Tonga than any other island.

SOME NATURAL PRODUCTIONS OF FUTUNA.

Père Grezél, in his excellent dictionary gives the names of over 160 trees and plants common to Futuna, but most unfortunately he omits the botanical names, and therefore no exact comparison can be made with similar names in the other islands. This is a subject worthy of enquiry and study, for by its means many of the migrations of the Polynesians might be traced. If we find branches of the race living at opposite ends of the Pacific who have common names for plants identical, or even resembling one another, the inference is certain that those two branches of the race must at some time have known a plant from which both derived the name, and it follows that they must have inhabited the same place at some time or other.

The birds, animals, fish, and insects would offer the same results from the same line of enquiry. In the lists which follow, only a few of the most striking and common names are given, with their suggested equivalents in some of the other islands; but it is obvious that until the scientific names are known there is considerable uncertainty as to the identity of them. Even where plants, animals, &c., are not identically the same in any of the new countries to which a migration arrives, it is obvious that those most similar in the new country to those of the old will receive the same names, sometimes with variations to distinguish them.

Dr. Guppy, in his "Soloman Islands," has already suggested this method of tracing the origin of some of the Polynesian races, and has illustrated it with two or three examples; but, unfortunately for him, his information was deficient, and he has consequently made some absurd mistakes in the Polynesian names of plants. Mr. Joshua Rutland, one of our members, has written a very valuable and interesting memoir on the cultivated plants of Polynesia which has not yet seen the light. It is a most able contribution to the "whence of the Polynesians."

The following are the names of some of the trees and plants of Futuna:—

FUTUNA NAME.	EQUIVALENT NAMES IN OTHER ISLANDS.
<i>Aka</i> , a liana (edible root)	<i>Aka</i> , a liana, N.Z.
<i>Aoa</i> , the Banyan	<i>Aoa</i> , the Banyan, Mangaia; a tree, Tahiti, Bola-bola
<i>Fala</i> , the Pandanus	<i>Fara</i> , the Pandanus, Tahiti, Mangareva, Tonga; <i>Ara</i> , in Rarotonga; <i>Hala</i> , Hawaii
<i>Fau</i> , the Hibiscus.. ..	<i>Whau</i> and <i>Aute</i> , paper mulberry, N.Z.; <i>Au</i> and <i>Hau</i> , Hawaii; <i>Au</i> , Mangaia; <i>Fau</i> , Tahiti, Tonga, Samoa
<i>Fue</i> , a creeping plant	<i>Hue</i> , a creeping plant (calabash), N.Z.; <i>Fue</i> , Tonga, Samoa
<i>Futu</i> , a tree	<i>Hutu</i> , a tree, N.Z.; <i>Hutu</i> , Mangareva; <i>Futu</i> , Tonga, Samoa; <i>Hutu</i> , Tahiti

FUTUNA NAMES.	EQUIVALENT NAMES IN OTHER ISLANDS.
<i>Fetau</i> , a tree	<i>Fetau</i> , a tree, Tonga, Samoa
<i>Ifi</i> , a walnut (? chestnut)	<i>Ifi</i> , Rarotonga, Tonga (<i>Inocarpus edulis</i>)
<i>Kape</i> , a plant	<i>Kape</i> , the large arum, most of the islands, Tonga, &c.
<i>Kahokaho</i> , a species of yam	<i>Kaho-kaho</i> , species of yam, Tonga
<i>Kava</i> , the kava plant	<i>Kawakawa</i> , N.Z.; <i>Kava</i> , <i>Ava</i> , <i>Kawa</i> , most of the islands
<i>Kea</i> , breadfruit	<i>Kea</i> , species of bread-fruit, Tonga
<i>Kiekie</i> , a liana	<i>Kiekie</i> , a liana, N.Z., Rarotonga; ' <i>Ie'ie</i> , a creeping plant, Tahiti, Hawaii
<i>Kofe</i> , bamboo	' <i>Ohe</i> , bamboo, Hawaii; <i>Koe</i> , bamboo, Mangaieva; <i>Kofe</i> , Tonga; <i>Ohe</i> , Tahiti
<i>Koka</i> , a tree	<i>Koka</i> , a tree of Tonga; ' <i>O'a</i> , a tree, Hawaii; <i>Koka</i> , the banyan, Mangaia
<i>Kumala</i> , sweet potato	<i>Kumara</i> , N.Z., Rarotonga; <i>Umala</i> , Samoa, <i>Uwala</i> , Hawaii; <i>Umaru</i> , Tahiti; <i>Kumala</i> , Tonga.
<i>Lafi</i> , papyrus, from which <i>tapa</i> is made	
<i>Leva</i> , a tree	<i>Rewarewa</i> , a tree, N.Z.; <i>Reva</i> , a tree, Mangaia
<i>Lemu</i> , seaweed, moss	<i>Rimu</i> , moss, seaweed, N.Z., Rarotonga; <i>Lemu</i> , Tonga; <i>Remu</i> , a fern, Tahiti
<i>Mafai</i> , a creeping plant	<i>Mawhai</i> , a creeping plant, N.Z.
<i>Mei</i> , bread-fruit tree	<i>Tu-mei</i> , Mangareva; <i>Mei</i> , Tonga
<i>Milo</i> , a tree	<i>Miro</i> , a tree, N.Z.; <i>Milo</i> , Hawaii, Tonga; <i>Miro</i> , Mangareva, Rarotonga
<i>Mosokoi</i> , a tree, scented flowers	<i>Moho'oe</i> , a tree, scented flowers, Samoa
<i>Niu</i> , cocoanut	<i>Niu</i> , cocoanut. Universal name in Polynesia
<i>Nukanuka</i> , a species of myrtle	<i>Manuka</i> , a shrub, N.Z.
<i>Piu</i> , species of cocoanut	<i>Piu</i> , a fern, N.Z.; <i>Piu</i> , species cocoanut, Tonga
<i>Polo</i> , species of love apple	<i>Poroporo</i> , species of solanum, N.Z., Mangaia; <i>Polo</i> , shrub, Tonga
<i>Pua</i> , a tree	<i>Pua</i> , a tree, Rarotonga, Hawaii, Tonga
<i>Puka</i> , a tree	<i>Puka</i> , a tree, N.Z., Rarotonga; <i>Pu'a</i> , Samoa
<i>Pulaka</i> , a species of kape	<i>Puraka</i> , Raratonga and many other islands; <i>Pu'a</i> , Samoa
<i>Talo</i> , the taro	<i>Taro</i> , N.Z.; <i>Talo</i> or <i>Taro</i> , in all Polynesia
<i>Tamanu</i> , a tree	<i>Tamanu</i> , a tree, Rarotonga, Tahiti, Samoa, Tonga, Mangareva
<i>Tava</i> , a tree	<i>Tava</i> , a tree, N.Z.; <i>Tava</i> , Fiji, Tonga, Samoa
<i>Teve</i> , Balandia insula	<i>Teve</i> , Raratonga, Tonga, Tahiti, Samoa
<i>Ti</i> , cordyline	<i>Ti</i> , cordyline in all Polynesia; <i>Si</i> , in Tonga
<i>Tiale</i> , a scented flower	<i>Tiare</i> , Rarotonga, Tahiti; <i>Siare</i> , Tonga
<i>Toi</i> , a tree	<i>Toi</i> , a tree (cordyline) N.Z.; a tree, Tonga
<i>Tolo</i> , sugar cane	<i>Toro</i> , a tree, N.Z.; <i>To</i> , sugar cane, several islands
<i>Tui-tui</i> , candle-nut tree	<i>Tui-tui</i> , Tahiti, Tonga, Rarotonga; <i>Ku-kui</i> , Hawaii
<i>Ufi</i> , yam	<i>Uwhi</i> , a potato, N.Z.; <i>Ufi</i> , general name for yam all over Polynesia
<i>Ufilei</i> , species of yam	<i>Ufi-lei</i> , species of yam most islands of Polynesia
<i>Vi</i> , a tree with edible fruit	<i>Vi</i> , a tree with edible fruit, Tahiti, Rarotonga, Tonga
<i>Mutie</i> , a tree	<i>Mutie</i> , a tree, Mangareva

The following are some of the names of birds, of which thirty-four are given in the dictionary:—

<i>Akiaki</i> , a seabird	<i>Akiaki</i> , a seabird in N.Z.
<i>Amatuku</i> , a bird with long neck, a heron	<i>Matuku</i> , a heron, N.Z.; ' <i>Otu'u</i> , Tahiti; <i>Kotuku</i> , N.Z., Rarotonga, and Mangareva; <i>Matu'u</i> , Samoa

FUTUNA NAMES.	EQUIVALENT NAMES IN OTHER ISLANDS.
<i>Ngongo</i> , a seabird	<i>Ngongo</i> , a seabird, N.Z., Tonga, Fiji
<i>Kalae</i> , a bird, red beak and crest	<i>Kalae</i> , Tonga; <i>Alae-keokeo</i> , Hawii
<i>Kuka</i> , a bird	
<i>Kulu-kulu</i> , a dove	<i>Kulu-kulu</i> , a dove, Tonga; <i>Kuku</i> , Mangareva; <i>Kulu</i> , Ualan
<i>Lofa</i> , a bird	<i>Roha</i> , the big kiwi, N.Z.; <i>Lofa</i> , a bird, Tonga
<i>Lulu</i> , an owl	<i>Ruru</i> , an owl, N.Z.; <i>Lulu</i> , an owl, Tonga, Samoa; <i>Ruru</i> , Tahiti
<i>Lupe</i> , a pigeon	<i>Rupe</i> , a pigeon, N.Z.; <i>Lupe</i> , Tonga; <i>Rupe</i> , Tahiti, Rarotonga
<i>Moso</i> , a small bird	<i>Moho</i> , quail, N.Z.; <i>Moho</i> , Tonga, Hawaii; <i>Mo</i> , Fiji; <i>Moó</i> , Rarotonga
<i>Peka</i> , a large bat	<i>Peka</i> , a bat, N.Z.; <i>Peka</i> , Tonga; <i>Beka</i> , Fiji
<i>Senga</i> , green and red parroquet	<i>Senga</i> , a parroquet, Samoa
<i>Tavake</i> ,	<i>Tavaki</i> , tropic bird, Rarotonga; <i>Tawake</i> , Ma- ngareva
<i>Toloo</i> , wild duck	<i>Toloo</i> , albatross, N.Z.; <i>Toloo</i> , wild duck, Tonga; <i>Toroa</i> , a seabird, Tahiti; <i>Toloo</i> , duck, Samoa; <i>Koloo</i> (<i>Toloo</i>), duck, Hawaii
<i>Tui-tui-kape-ata</i> , a black bird, white on belly	<i>Tui</i> , a black bird, white on throat, N.Z.
<i>Tuli</i> , a snipe	<i>Turi</i> , a snipe, N.Z.; <i>Tule</i> , Samoa; <i>Kukulu</i> (<i>Tu- turu</i>), plover, Hawaii
<i>Veka</i> , a bird, grey, long tail ..	<i>Weka</i> , wood hen, N.Z.; <i>Ve'a</i> , a rail, Samoa
<i>Moa</i> , a fowl	<i>Moa</i> , a fowl all over Polynesia
<i>Tu</i> , a bird.. ..	<i>Tu</i> , or <i>Tu-aimio</i> , Samoa

The names of the winds and cardinal directions are as follows:—

Fakatiu, the north-west wind
Funga-alofi, the south-east wind
Keu-Matangi, the south wind
Lua-tuu, the south-east wind

Mata-fenua, the east
Muli-keu, the south
Tonga, the south wind
Toke-lau, the due north wind

The above list is by no means exhaustive for Futuna, or for any of the other islands. Could we procure the names of trees, plants, animals, and birds of the East Indian Archipelago in the language of the most ancient races there, considerable light would be thrown on the whence of the Polynesians.

S. PERCY SMITH.





POLYNESIAN CAUSATIVES.

BY E. TREGEAR, F.R.HIST.S., F.R.G.S.

THE letter-changes and the variety of meanings attached to the different forms of the Polynesian Causative form one of the most interesting subjects of thought to which the student of language can address his powers. The addition of a certain prefix confers the sense of causation—of “making to do” a thing, whether the main word so treated is generally used as a noun or a verb. Thus, with *takoto*, to lie, to recline, we have *whaka-takoto*, to lay down ; with *atua*, a god, we get *whaka-atua*, to deify.

The most common, and, perhaps, important form of the causative prefix is the Maori *whaka*, the Tongan *faka*, the Samoan *fa’a*. We have also the Tahitian *faa*, which varies in this dialect with *haa*. The Hawaiian *haa*, the Marquesan *haa* finds itself side by side with the Rarotongan *aka*, Mangarevan *aka*, and Futuna *haka* and *faka*. This form, then, in the most important Polynesian dialects holds its own, either as the only causative or as allied with others. It would appear probable, when one considers the change between NG and K so common in Polynesian words of different dialects (and even in the same dialect, as Maori *kainga*=*kaika* and *tangata*=*takata*), that the word *hanga*, to build, to make, is a form of the word *whaka*—perhaps the original form. The universality of the K and NG change is strengthened by the fact that the Tahitian, which drops K, drops NG as well ; thus the Maori *ngakau*, the heart, Tahitian *aau*. The Rarotongan, which dislikes the H sound so strongly as to drop the WH also, gives the causative as *aka*, in which it is followed by the Mangarevan, which has not nearly so great a repugnance for the aspirate. This *aka* as causative is probably related to *aga* (*anga*), labour, to work, where *aga* is also used as a kind of causative as in *aga-mana*, a miracle—i.e., a miracle-causing act.

The Hawaiian *hana* (*hanga*) appears to be distinct from the causative forms *haa*, *ha*, &c., and is associated by Lorrin Andrews, the Hawaiian lexicographer with *hana* warm, to become warm, *hanahana*, heated as by violent exercise. But this association is, I think, falsely

induced by the absence in Hawaiian of the NG sound (or, rather, by both N and NG being written as N), and a consequent confusion between "labour" (to build, &c.) and "heat." If we compare the Maori *hana*, to glow, with Tahitian *hanahana*, splendour, *anaana*, brightness; Mangarevan *hana*, shining, brilliant; Paumotan *hana*, the sun; the Brunner Island *mahana*, the sun; Aneityumese *henhen*, to burn, &c., the conclusion will probably be that the word *hana* is associated with brilliant radiance as of sunshine, and is distinct from *hanga*, to build, to make, and the idea of "heat caused by exercise" is adventitious.

If we consider how loosely the H sits on this word in many dialects, and also our possession of unaspirated kindred words, such as Maori *anga*, to begin to do anything; the Samoan *aga* (*anga*) to act, to do; the Rarotongan *anga*, to make, *angaanga*, to work; the Mangarevan *aga* (*anga*), to work, to labour; it appears probable that the word has suffered much change at different times, but that in spite of fine shades of meaning being attached in each dialect to some slight change in verbal form that, on the whole, it is probable that the original root is √ FAK—that is to say, that *faka* is equivalent to *whaka*; *whaka* is equivalent to *hanga* (through *whanga*, at present a lost form*), and that this has varied in Eastern Polynesia as *haa*, *ha*, *anga*, *aga*, *faka*, *fa'a*, *whaka*, &c.†

So far we have considered the word having A as its working vowel. The question assumes its more complicated aspect when we turn to the Hawaiian form in O. The Hawaiian presents us with a causative *hoo*, as in *hoo-kokolo*, to cause to crawl (Maori—*whaka-totoro*), &c. This form has been abraded to *ho* in a few words, as in *ho-a*, to cause to blaze, to kindle (Maori—*whaka-ka*.) It has been suggested that a proof of *hoo* having been of later formation than *haa* is the word *hoo-haa-lulu*, to shake; the word *haa-lulu* having received the accretion of the duplicate causative *hoo*. The Hawaiian *hoo* would represent a Maori *hoko*, and it would be interesting to know if the Maori ever used *hoko* or *ho* as a causative. There are several words which appear to strengthen the idea that such was the case; should linguists decide in favour of such form being present the kinship between Hawaiian and Maori would appear much closer than is now allowed. One of the most striking examples is the Maori *hokomirimiri*, to rub; if *hoko* is here a causative the Hawaiians appear to have lost it from common

* New Zealand has an interesting example in the name of Akaroa Harbour, Akaroa being South-Island-Maori for Whangaroa, although this *Whanga* is not the causative, but probably means "beach."

† The Sulu *mak* and Tagal *mag*, causative prefixes, exhibit the common letter-change of F and M. It may be worthy of notice that our verb "to make" is formed on a Teutonic base MAK; and may be related to the Latin base FAK, on which rests *facio*, I make, and whence the French *faire* (from *facere*) to make, to do, often used causatively.

use ; *mili* and *milimili*, to handle, to examine, not generally taking a causative prefix. The Maori *hoa*, to aim a blow at by throwing, is apparently related to the Hawaiian *hoa*, to strike on the head, to beat with a stick or stone ; but the Hawaiian *hoa* is a compound of *ho* causative, with *a*, and has another meaning, viz., to drive cattle, plainly showing a likeness to Maori *a*, to drive. If this relationship is allowed, the Maori has kept *ho* as a causative in *hoa*, but not only has the Maori done this, the Samoan *foa*, to break the head, the Tongan *foa*, to fracture, the Mangaian *oa*, to strike, all show the presence of the causative. Too much stress must not be laid upon an isolated instance, but at the same time a single word may have preserved an inestimable relic of obsolete grammar. The difficulty may be seen in its fullest extent in the Maori word *hokai*, a brace or stay, which, supported by the Samoan *so'ai*, the brace of a house, appears to be related to the Hawaiian *hoai*, a suture, a joining, to unite two things together ; but the Hawaiian in its most direct meaning is *ho-ai* (in Maori letters *whaka-kai*), to mix food together. It is possible that the Maori *hoatu*, to give away, and *homai*, to give towards a person, may be forms equal to *whaka-atu* and *whaka-mai*.

The use by the Chatham Islanders (Mori) of the causative *hoko* is a most interesting puzzle. The dialect is, in its vocabulary and in the greater part of its grammar, a corrupt sub-dialect of New Zealand Maori. The causative, however, apparently resembles the Hawaiian *hoo*. This seems to point to one of two conclusions. Either the Mori have retained the *hoko* causative discarded by the Maori, or else the Mori have descended from a foreign branch having affinities with Hawaiian. The probability, if we compare the Mori vocabulary with Maori and Hawaiian, is strongly against the latter hypothesis.

The origin of *hoko* as a causative appears to be different from that of *faka* or *whaka* ; a multitude of connected words hinting that as *whaka* is supported on the root √ FAK to make, to do, *hoko* stands upon the √ HON or √ HOK (*hong*), to join. We find :

Maori—*Hono*, to splice, to join, to unite ; *tuhono*, to join, and *tara-hono*, to pile in a heap.

Samoan—*Fono*, to hold a council ; *fofono*, to patch ; *fa'a-fono*, to gather to a meeting ; *tafono*, to join the planks of a canoe.

Tahitian—*Hono*, to splice a rope, to join pieces of wood.

And similar words with like meaning in all the Polynesian dialects. Side by side with these we may place Samoan *so'o* (*soko*), to join, to encircle ; *so'oso'o*, to be joined in many places ; *so'omau*, to have a firm joint. Tongan—*hokohoko*, to splice to join ; *hchoko*, continuous, unbroken ; *faka-hoko*, to splice, to join ; and the Mangarevan *aka-oko*, to tie, to bind. These examples would appear to show a common root √ HONG (HOK), the derivatives from which have parted in two

directions as to meaning; thus, the sense of "joining" or "splicing" has been kept mainly for the *hono* form, the other, *hoko*, being reserved for the idea of "bringing together," "uniting," or "joining," as articles of barter or trade; *hoko* being the common word for exchange, barter, buying and selling in the Pacific.*

This derivation of *hoko* as a causative is very much strengthened by finding that in Samoan the other causative is used as a numeral or ordinal, thus *fa'a-tasi* (*tasi*=Maori *tahi*, one), once, to add to, to join together, to make one; *fa'a-lua*, twice; *fa'a-tolu*, thrice, &c. If we compare this with the Maori numeral prefix *hoko*, signifying "ten times" (as *whitu* seven, *hokowhitu* seventy), it would seem extremely likely that the Maori *hoko* thus used as a numeral is a form of the causative "to make ten," "to make twenty," &c. The meaning of "multiplied by ten" attached to it in Maori may be a late evolution of meaning, for we cannot allow that any rendering of decimal notation is possible to primitive savage peoples, whose difficulty in getting beyond any numerals above 3 and 4 is well known. Certainly the Tongan *hogofulu*, ten (Maori *ngahuru*, ten) assists the idea that the root is √ HONG.†

It will probably be found hereafter that, in spite of the Hawaiian example of *Hoo-haa-lulu*, the root √ HONG has been superseded by the root √ FAK in Maori, Tongan, Samoan, &c.

E.T.

* *Foko* still appears to possess as a causative a few Tongan examples—*e.g.*, *foko-tuu*, to set up, to raise; unless the meaning here is original in its second sense—*viz.*, to fill up—when it might be from *hono*, to join together.

† The Maori *ngahuru* appears to be a corrupted word, and is perhaps to be read as *anga-huru*—that is, as a causative, *anga-huru*, *hanga-huru* or *whaka-huru*—because we have in Samoan *tino*, ten, *tinolua*, twenty, *tino-aga-fulu*, ten, when used in counting men. Also Hawaiian *anaku*, ten days.

THE POLYNESIAN BOW.

BY E. TREGGAR.

PERHAPS one of the most puzzling problems known to anthropologists is to account for the apparent dislike shown by the fair Polynesians for the use of the bow and arrow. They found the mighty weapon of the archer in the hands of almost every Melanesian or Papuan inhabitant of the neighbouring islands; they had experience of its fatal powers, and yet, except in the case of the Tongans, the weapons appeared to be viewed with disfavour and neglect.

The bows used by the Tongans in the days of Cook were slight,

and by no means powerful instruments. Each bow was fitted with a single arrow of reed, which was carried in a groove cut for that purpose along the side of the bow itself. By the time that Mariner arrived among these islanders in 1806, they had possessed themselves of more powerful bows and arrows, probably procured from Fiji, or imitated from Fijian weapons, as constant intercourse of either warlike or pacific character was then going on between the Friendly and Fijian Islands. Moreover, they had also procured guns at that epoch.

The Hawaiian weapons were spears, javelins, clubs, stone-axes, knives and slings; the use of the bow being confined to rat-shooting. The Tahitians used the bow only as a sacred plaything; the bows, arrows, quiver, &c., being kept in a certain place in charge of appointed persons, and brought out on stated occasions. The arrow was not aimed at a mark, but merely shot off as a test of strength and skill, one archer trying to shoot farther than another. The Samoans did not use the bow, but fought with the club and spear, the sling being the missile-weapon, as it also was in the Marquesas.

In regard to New Zealand, the subject has been handled at any length only by two writers. The first was Mr. C. Phillips, whose paper appeared in the "Transactions of the New Zealand Institute," vol. x., p. 97. The article did not deal with the bow proper so much as with the weapon known to the Maoris as *kotaha*, which consists of a stick and whip with which a spear is thrown. Mr. Phillips made some incidental remarks in this paper which provoked Mr. Colenso to reply in an article published in the "Transactions of the New Zealand Institute," vol. xi., p. 106.

Mr. Colenso's argument, briefly summarised, refers to the subject as follows. He considers,—

- 1st. That the bows and arrows found in the hands of Maori children were probably imitated from models shown to them by Tupaea, the Tahitian interpreter brought to New Zealand by Captain Cook. Or, perhaps, from models shown by foreigners, some of whom—notably a Hindoo, a Marquesan, and a Tahitian—were resident among the Maoris when the Rev. Mr. Marsden arrived in 1814.
- 2nd. That neither Tasman, Cook, Parkinson, Forster, Crozet, Polack, Cruise, Nicholas, Marsden, nor any other of the early visitors to New Zealand mention seeing the bow, or hearing of its use. That Mr. Colenso himself, in his frequent journeys about the country (in 1834), and continual listenings to stories of war, never heard of the bow being used in combat.
- 3rd. That there is no mention in old legends of the bow being used as a weapon either in the stories of the destruction of monsters, the deaths of chiefs in battle, or in the lists of arms, although these lists are given with great fidelity and attention to detail.

Of these three divisions, the first is not scientifically decisive. It is possible, and even probable, that the Maoris were taught the use of the bow by early visitors, but it cannot now be proven. The bow might have been kept as a childish toy, although not used as a weapon; exactly, for example, as with the modern English, with whom bows and arrows are playthings, although but a few years ago (ethnologically speaking) they were the national weapons.

The second argument is from negative evidence. There may have been bows and arrows in New Zealand, and yet they may not have been produced or spoken of in the presence of new-comers. But that such a reticence occurred is most improbable, and, although the evidence is negative, it is of great value. Few impartial people will

believe that the bow was a weapon of the New Zealander during the last century if no explorer or missionary saw or heard of it.*

The third argument is an exceedingly important one. If in the lists of weapons mentioned in New Zealand tradition the bow has no place, the conviction left in the minds of most Maori scholars will be that the omission marks the absence of the bow itself from Maori knowledge.†

Time, however, has a modifying effect on opinion, and the one thing certain to come to the interested student of anthropology is a wondering faith in the power of Time to dissolve and form and re-dissolve not only the tribes of the earth, but our knowledge concerning them. I received lately a letter from a friend in the north of the North Island of New Zealand who informed me that in digging a drain upon his property at Mangapai he came upon a bow in a perfect state of preservation. It was lying in a bed of sandy clay, the surface of which was apparently undisturbed and virgin. The finder proceeded (in the usual fashion which horrifies archæologists) to clean his treasure-trove; but, luckily, before he had finished his work of scraping and oiling the bow, a friend interfered, and the original soil adheres to a portion of the weapon.

I have deposited the bow in the Museum for safe keeping. It is 6 feet $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length; in shape resembling the bows of Fiji, the New Hebrides, and other Melanesian islands. It is almost certainly a war-bow, and it would try the strength of an athletic man to draw an arrow to the head upon so stiff an arc. It was unaccompanied by any relics whatever.

Several methods of accounting for the deposit of the bow in the locality might be suggested. It might have been buried in modern times by a European or by a visiting native of the South Sea Islands. This is improbable, as the weapon must have been of some value to its owner, and is too large to have been easily lost. Again, the bow, if not a Maori weapon, might have belonged to some pre-historic inhabitant. There seems to be a consensus of tradition that the Polynesian and Malayan islands were once peopled by races exterminated or driven inland by the present occupiers of the seaward positions. In New Zealand many scholars believe that the Maori immigration dispossessed a people then in occupation.‡ If, on further testing, the bow should be found to be of Melanesian pattern, but of New Zealand wood, it would strengthen the theory that a people of Melanesian origin once occupied this country.

* In the *Auckland Weekly News* of April 16th, 1892, is an account of an old Pakeha-Maori named John Harmon, who came to New Zealand a child in 1805, and is now dead. "He told a tale of a battle between the Ngati-whatua and the Ngati-maru in the Thames Valley which was fought out with bows and arrows." It would perhaps be well if some member of this Society resident among either of these tribes would make enquiries among the old men as to what circumstance gave rise to Harmon's story.—E.T.

† On the other hand, I do not know of any list of weapons or legend of monster-killing which includes the *kotaha* as a weapon. Yet I am informed by Mr. Percy Smith that, not only was he shown an old ruined *pa* which was conquered by spears or darts thrown more than a quarter of a mile by means of the "whip," but that he knows that they were in use at least 200 years ago.—E.T.

‡ Much of interest on this subject can be found in Major Gudgeon's articles in the "Monthly Review" (Wellington, New Zealand, Lyon and Blair), vol. ii., pp. 585 and 517. See also the article on flint arrowheads, found near Wellington, by Mr. T. W. Kirk. "Transactions of the New Zealand Institute," xiii., 436.

The evidence brought forward by Mr. Colenso in his paper makes it almost certain that no Maori within historical times has used the bow as a weapon. But, *did the ancient Maori use the bow?* If we turn to comparative philology the answer is probably in the affirmative. The evidence stands thus:—

MALAYSIA.

*Malay, *panah*, a bow.

Java, *panah* "

Bouton, *opana* "

Salayer, *panah* "

Cajeli, *panah* "

Massaratty, *panat* "

Ahtiago, *banah* "

Baju, *panah* "

Magindano, *pana*, an arrow.

PHILIPPINES.

Tagal, *pana*, a bow.

Bisaya, *pana* "

MELANESIAN ISLANDS.

Neigone, *pehna*, a bow.

Aneityum, *fana* "

Rotuma, *fan* "

Fiji, *fana*, to shoot with a bow.

" *vana*, to shoot.

Eddystone Island, *umbana*, an arrow.

New Britain, *panah*, a bow.

Santa Cruz, *nepna*, an arrow.

Florida, *vanahi*, to shoot.

POLYNESIAN PROPER.

Tahiti, *fana*, a bow; *fa'a-fana*, to guard property.

†Tongan, *fana*, to shoot; the act of shooting.

Samoa, *fana*, to shoot; *fanau*, a bow; *aufana*, a bow; *uāfana*, a volley of arrows.

Hawaiian, *pana*, a bow; to shoot as an arrow; *panapua*, an archer.

Barotongan, *ana*, a bow (dialect drops *f* and *wh*).

Marquesan, *pana*, a bow.

Futuna, *fana*, a bow; to hunt.

In these comparatives we have evidence in a direct chain through the Malay, Melanesian, and Polynesian islands of a clearly marked word *fana* or *pana*, as "bow," the probable root being √ FAN or √ PHAN. In New Zealand the equivalent for the Polynesian *F* is *WH* (as *fare*, "a house," becomes *whare*, &c.), consequently we must expect to find the word as *whana*. The Maori word *whana* means "to recoil or spring back as a bow;" "a spring made of a bent stick, as a trap." When we compare the compound words, *tawhana*, bent like a bow; *kowhana*, bent, bowed; *korowhana*, bent, bowed, &c., &c., there can be little doubt but that *whana* originally with the Maori meant what it did with all other Pacific-islanders—viz., "a bow," and that they knew its use as a weapon. Just as the Maori words *amatiatia*, *taurua*, &c., for the double canoe or outriggered canoe prove former use, even though the modern Maori knows nothing of such vessel. The other Maori forms, *pana*, "to thrust away," and *panga*, "to throw," have taken slightly divergent meanings.

The Maori word *pewa*, meaning "arched, bow-shaped," and "the eyebrows" (with its compound, *koropewa*, a loop or bow") also probably signified a weapon. *Pewa* has been preserved as "bow" by the Motu people of New Guinea (a Polynesian colony among Papuans), but may be a foreign word, since it has no universality in the Pacific as *fana* has. E.T.

* It is said by Malay scholars that the Malay word *panah*, "a bow," is connected with the Sanscrit word *vana* or *bana*, "arrow." This variation as to "bow" and "arrow" may be found in the islands; but, if connected with Sanscrit, the word "goes ashore" into Asia.—E.T.

† On page 61 of Mr. Codrington's "Melanesian Languages" appears a note by Mr. Fison as to the Tongans having got the word *fana* with the bow from Fiji. No authority is greater with regard to Melanesian speech than is the opinion of Mr. Fison, but I believe in this matter that he had been misled by his native informant. In the first place the bow had been in use long before the life time of the native in question began, and this makes the etymology of the name beyond his knowledge except as a guess; and, in the second, the wide distribution of the word among Polynesians makes it probable that the Tongans used the same word as the rest of their nation, and did not need to borrow from Fiji.—E.T.



NOTES AND QUERIES.

IT is proposed under the above heading to afford to Polynesian students an opportunity of eliciting information bearing on the subjects of their enquiries from those who are able to supply it. It is hoped that it will be freely used.

The first queries the Council have received are from Tuta Tamati, a pure Polynesian of New Zealand, one who has taken an interest in the objects of the Society, and who will prove of great assistance in future researches.

E patai atu ana ahau ki nga rangatiranga o nga Moutere ririki o te Moana Marino, ko aku mea enei e hiahia nei kia patai atu, ara mehemea e mohiotia ana.

AKUAKU.

1. E inoi atu ana ahau kia whakamaramatia mai te tikanga o tenei kupu, *Akuaku*, me te whakaatu mai ano no tewhea moutere o nga moutere o Hawaii taua kupu. Ko te tangata nana i hua tenei kupu, *Akuaku*, hei ingoa kaainga ki Aotearoa nei, ko *Pawa*, he tangata i heke mai no nga moutere.

PARINUITERA.

2. E inoi ana ano hoki ahau kia whakamaramatia mai ano tenei. E ai hoki nga korero a nga kaumatua o konei, ko taua ingoa ko *Pari-nui-te-ra*, he *Ra* no tetahi o nga waka i heke mai i nga moutere na, a no te taenga mai o taua waka ki konei, ara ki te takiwa o Whangara, ka tahuri, a, mate katoa nga tangata, na reira kahore i mohiotia te ingoa o taua waka me ona tangata o runga.

PAHIKO.

3. He tupuna tenei i heke atu i tenei motu ki nga moutere ririki o waenga moana. A, tenei ano ona whakapapa kei Aotearoa nei, kei te mau tonu te mohio-tanga o nga kaumatua ki ona whakapapa, me te take i heke atu ai ia me tona ropu katoa. Na, e inoi ana ahau, kia whakaaturia mai, mehemea i tae atu ia me tona ropu katoa ki etahi o nga moutere o waenga moana, a, kia whakaatu mai hoki ona uri i o ratou nei whakapapa i runga i taua tupuna.—TUTA TAMATI.

[TRANSLATION.]

These are questions addressed to the learned men of the smaller islands of the Pacific Ocean, and are the things I wish to ask, if any knowledge of them exists.

1. I ask to be enlightened as to the meaning of the word *Akuaku*, and also to be informed from which of the Islands of the group of Hawaii the word came. The man who first gave this name *Akuaku* as a name of a place in Aotearoa (New Zealand) was *Pawa*, who migrated here from the islands. [*Akuaku* is the name of a Maori village and district near the East Cape, and where the descendants of the *Takitumu* or

Horouta canoes are still dwelling. Samoan, Tahitian, and Hawaiian scholars will please remember that *Akuaku* would become *A'ua'u* in their dialects.—EDITORS.]

2. I also beg to ask for enlightenment as to this word *Pari-nui-te-ra*. According to the story of the old men of this part the name of *Pari-nui-te-ra* means the sail of a certain canoe which came from the Islands, and on its arrival here—to the district of Whangara—it cap-sized and all the crew were drowned, hence the name of the canoe and the people in it are unknown. [The above is the Maori name of Captain Cook's Gable End Foreland, about 20 miles north of Poverty Bay, East Coast of New Zealand.—EDITORS.]
3. Pahiko was an ancestor who migrated from this island to the smaller islands of mid-ocean. The genealogical table of his descendants exists in Aotearoa. The old men still possess his genealogy and the knowledge why he migrated, together with his followers. Now, I beg to ask that I may be informed whether he and all his followers arrived at any of the islands of mid-ocean, and whether the names of any of his descendants are contained in the genealogies from that ancestor in any of the other islands.—(Signed) TUTA TAMATI.

4. One of the traditions of the Maoris relates that the chief Paikea, settled down on the East Coast of New Zealand at a place called Whangara, and on one occasion he pointed out the similarity of the surrounding country to that from which he had come in Hawaiki. The following names of places near the ancient Whangara (after which the New Zealand place of that name was called) were recited by Paikea at the time:—Pakarae, Wai-ngutu, Toka-kuku, Rangitoto, Te-ahi-a-ira-kau, Puke-hapopo, Waipaepae, Te-Ahi-rara-riki, Whaka-kino, Tu-tapu-ninihi, Taha-tu-o-te-rangi, Puke-hore, Te-rerenga. Whangara is said to be one of the places in Hawaiki from whence the *kumara* was brought to New Zealand. Can any of our members recognise the above names in any of the islands, more especially near Fagala, in Upolu, or Faara, in Raiatea, which are both identical with the Maori word Whangara.—S. PERCY SMITH.

5. Fornander, in his second volume of "The Polynesian Race," page 35, refers to the migration from Upolu to Hawaii of a chief named Paoa, and states that the following names of places (in Upolu?) have been preserved:—"The Mountains of Malaia," and "the Cliff of Kaakoheo." Can any of our members recognise these names? The last name may probably be in Samoan Le Atoheo or Ta'atoheo.—S. PERCY SMITH.

6. John White, in the fifth volume of his "Ancient History of the Maori," page 4 (Maori part); quotes a song in which occurs these lines,—

*Ki te uri ra o Komako,
Ki te huanga kerekere ko Kai-hau."*

which he (poetically) translates as

"By the children of Komako,
And by the black descendants of old Kaihau."

I should feel obliged if any of the members would send a genealogy of Kaihau, or any information respecting his black (*kerekere*) descendants. As evidence is being gathered concerning a pre-historic Melanesian people in New Zealand the subject is of interest.—EDW. TREGGAR.

7. I beg to warn students of Polynesian mythology concerning an important error made in printing the paper of the late John White in Vol. III., "Transactions of the Australasian Society for Advancement of Science." On page 360 *et seq.* the name of the Maori deity *Io* is printed *To*, and needs correction.—EDW. TREGGAR.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS IN SAMOA.

The "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of October, 1890, contains an article written by Mr. R. A. Sterndale, and based on material found in the note-books of the late Handley Bathurst Sterndale, so well known as a competent and enthusiastic Polynesian explorer. We transcribe a quotation from one of the note-books in the hopes that some of our members resident in Samoa may be stimulated to make enquiry and research with a view to further discoveries. The burying-place described in the quotation is situated in the mountain ranges of Upolu.

"There was no path, although in places I could perceive that there had in former times been one, several crevasses being artificially bridged over with causeways of rude construction.

"By previous observations I had determined the position of a lofty spur (or radius from a great volcanic centre) which, on undertaking the journey I had proposed to myself to ascend, in the hope of thereby reaching the summit of the great interior range at a point much to the eastward of where it had been accustomed to be crossed by the natives. Looking in that direction I perceived this ridge separated from me by a broad and dangerous-looking ravine with a narrow cañon (or chasm with perpendicular sides) in the bottom. Hazardous as was the appearance of this valley I had to attempt it, and scrambling down to the brink of the crevasse which constituted its most inaccessible feature, I found, after some search, a fallen tree, whereby I effected the passage. Beneath me was a torrent flowing in darkness over a bed of black lava as smooth as glass. I knew this to be one of the head waters of a river called the Vai-vasa, which presents the singular phenomenon of exhibiting some miles inland a volume of water more than double in quantity to that which is visible in its bed where it disgorges itself into the sea, the remainder being absorbed by subterranean channels.

"About 200 feet above me on the opposite side I observed the mouth of a rift or gully opening towards me, and seeming by its aspect to have been produced by an earthquake or some such cause. Having with great labour and with some risk succeeded in reaching the crown of the ridge at some distance below that point, I soon came to the edge of the strange looking crack. There was no way of crossing it except by sliding over fallen boulders to the bottom, and in the same manner ascending the opposite side, where was an opening between the rocks, just wide enough for a man to pass through. As I believed that the end of this gully, which ran at right angles to the direction of the range, might afford me a prospect of the next valley to the eastward, I proceeded in that direction along the bottom, but had not gone far when I perceived to my surprise that it was not a natural fissure, as I had supposed, but a great fosse formed by the hands of man, being in some places excavated, in others built up at the sides; and that which was farthest from me (or next to the rise of the hill) had been still more heightened by a parapet wall. At the far end was nothing to be seen but a perpendicular cliff, and the inaccessible face of the opposite mountain. Returning to the spot at which I entered, I climbed up the other side of the gully, and passed through the narrow gap I had previously noticed, when my astonishment increased on beholding before me upon a level space of limited area, a truncated conical structure or 'Heidenmauer' of such huge dimensions as must have required the labour of a great multitude to construct. So little did I expect in this neighbourhood to meet with any example of human architecture, and so rudely monstrous was the appearance of this cyclopean building, that from its peculiar form, and from the vegetation with which it was overgrown, I might have passed it by, supposing it to have been a volcanic hillock, had not my attention been attracted by the stone-work of the fosse. I hastened to ascend it. It was about twenty feet high by one hundred

in diameter. It was circular with straight sides; the lower tiers of stone were very large, they were lava blocks, some of which would weigh at least a ton, which must have been rolled or moved on skids to their places. They were laid in courses; and in two places near the top seemed to have been entrances to the inside, as in one appeared a low cave choked with rocks and tree roots. If there had indeed been chambers within, they were probably narrow and still existing, as there was no sign of depression on the crown of the work, which was flat, and covered with flat stones, among which grew both trees and shrubs. It is likely that it was not in itself intended as a place of defence, but rather as a base or platform upon which some building of importance, perhaps of timber, had been erected, no doubt in the centre of a village, as many foundations of a few feet high were near it. The fosse, when unbroken and its inner wall entire, was probably crossed by a foot-bridge, to be withdrawn on the approach of an enemy; and the little gap by which I had entered closed, so that this must have been a place of great security. The Samoan natives, as far as I have been able to learn, have no tradition of what people inhabited this mountain fastness. At the upper end of the plateau was a broken reservoir, which had been fed from springs by a stone channel. I followed the course of the brook for a few hundred yard until I found it to disappear in a sheet of spray over the edge of a frightful precipice. No food-bearing trees were to be found here. There could not have been more than a few acres (perhaps twenty) in the whole plateau. The mystery was what the people could have lived upon. They could not have been at peace with their neighbours, or whence the necessity for these strong defences. They must have been numerous, from their works which remain.

"The path was paved, and plainly visible. Beyond the spring the ridge became steep and narrow for a distance, and then widened out into another flat. Here were a great number of 'cairns' of stone, apparently graves disposed in rows among huge trees, the uplifting roots of which had overturned and destroyed very many of them. There was one great Banyan tree which I approached, and, perceiving a cavity, entered. The darkness was profound. Tall creepers, which twined themselves about the columned trunks, and lay in masses upon the summit of this giant tree, trailed in waving festoons on every side, and excluded even the faintest glimmer of the feeble twilight which prevailed in the sombre forest. I kindled a flame, and explored the interior. Some large bats flew out from an inner chamber, or cell, about ten feet square. The floor was of flat stones, the walls of enormous blocks of the same placed on end; the roof, of interwisted trunks of the Banyan, which had grown together into a solid arch. In the centre was a cairn, or rather a cromlech, about four feet high, formed of several stones, arranged in a triangle with a great flat slab on the top. Upon it was what appeared to be another small stone, but which on examination turned out to be a great conch shell, white with age, and incrustated with moss and dead animalculæ. The atmosphere of this vault was heavy and oppressive, the light burned with difficulty, and the smoke was unable to rise, but rolled low down out of the entrance in a dense serpentine volume. A great *kovi*, or land crab (*Birgus latro*), sat perched upon an angle of the wall, regarding me sideways with a look of great malignity as from time to time he struck his bony claws with the sound of a hammer on the stone, like some sinister spirit-rapper holding communion with the *manes* of the departed.

"And his eyes had all the seeming
Of a demon that was dreaming,
And the lamplight o'er him streaming
Cast his shadow on the floor."

"Now, what manner of men could have inhabited the stronghold below, and have been laid to rest in this woodland necropolis? For the reception of what noble corpse had they constructed this ancient sepulchre? Its antiquity was manifestly

great, from the Banyan having grown around and over it. The enclosure had first been erected without a roof, the tree (perhaps purposely planted), whose age was beyond estimation, had afterwards enveloped and preserved it. Nay, it would even have altogether and for ever enclosed it in its hollow base had it not been that several of the great slabs which formed the entrance had been forced together at the top, and so retained a passage. (I have seen idol temples in the East so grown over by Banyan trees which are said to be older than the Mahomedan conquest. That this was the tomb of a man of authority among his tribe there could be no doubt, for they had not interred him under a simple cairn like his fellows—there had been art, and much labour in the manner of his burial. I am well convinced that these remains were the work of a people anterior to the existing race of Samoans. Their origin, like that of many other remarkable relics and ruins in the Pacific, is a part of the great mystery of the Isles—i.e., of the early distribution of man throughout the Polynesian archipelagos. I much regretted that I had neither leisure nor appliances to dig in this place for skulls, so as to have them submitted for examination to some man of science (perhaps some future traveller may act upon this suggestion). Being the first civilized man who had been privileged to examine this singular mausoleum, I inscribed my name (as is the custom of *les touristes anglais*) upon a conspicuous place; and paying my respects to the great crab, who, like a guardian gnome, still kept his sullen vigil, I returned to the outer world.

“Dark as was the cave from whence I had emerged, the forest was scarcely more cheerful in its aspect. All the light which prevailed was a sort of misty gloaming, dying away into the obscurity of a ‘pillared shade,’ but of which the hoary trunk of some great *maridi* or *mamala* tree stood forth here and there like a dungeon column

“‘Massy and gray,
Dim with a dull imprisoned ray.’

“And I stumbled among graves, some huge tumuli, others but three or four stones. Here were, doubtless, the bones of many generations. Whatsoever had been their deeds, the very knowledge of them was lost. With them indeed was ‘no remembrance of the wise man any more than the fool for ever.’ King and counsellor, spearman and slinger, friend and foe, all alike had gone to eternal oblivion.

“‘*Hic motus animarum, atque hæc certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescent.*’”





GENEALOGIES AND HISTORICAL NOTES FROM RAROTONGA.

PART II.—TRANSLATED BY HENRY NICHOLAS, Esq.

THE last number of this *Journal* contained the account of the settlement of the natives on Rarotonga Island as derived from the Ngati-Tangiia tribe. The following is from the other, or Ngati-Karika tribe. They differ in detail, as is to be expected, and both being written by native authors, they leave a good deal unexplained, as so often occurs in Maori histories.

In the present instance the Rev. W. Wyatt Gill, LL.D., has with very great kindness corrected the proof of the original Rarotongan version, which will thus be free from some errors which crept into the former account. He has, moreover, added a few notes, which are of great value as explaining some parts, and observes that unless an opportunity were afforded of questioning the native author the exact meaning of some portions could not be determined.

A third series of narratives has been received from Rarotonga through the kindness of F. G. Moss, Esq., the British Resident there, but they await translation. They deal with some of the migrations to Rarotonga before that of Karika and Tangiia.

Dr. Gill's notes are distinguished by his initials : W.W.G.

EDITORS.

KO TE PAPA ARIKI TEIA MEI AVAIKI MAI, MEI
ROTO IA PAPA.

Tera tona akatauanga :—

Ka tupu te Papa,
Ka rito te Papa,
Ka kao te Papa,
Ka pakari te Papa,
Ka roa te Papa,
Ka metua te Papa.

Tana pu, tana pau,
E raukava e akaariki,
Aru mai i te tua e maeva.

Ko Makea-vaerorangi ka noo i te vaine, i te tamaine a Rongo, ia Ina. Anau ta raua, ko Makea-tavake; anau tana ko Nuku-akatau-ariki; anau tana ko Makea-ariki; anau tana ko Taitopu; anau tana ko Makea-mimiti-nui; anau tana ko Makea-ka-tuiti; anau tana ko Ikitia; anau tana ko Apainga; anau tana ko Meke; anau tana ko Akanoi-ariki; anau tana ko Ariki-meiti; anau tana ko Te-Pou-o-te-rangi; anau tana ko Makea-kapeu--te-rangi; anau tana ko Oe; anau tana ko Eaa; anau tana ko Karika.

Ko Karika nei e tamaiti kanga, tamaiti kino; no reira te metua vaine i tuatua ai kiaia: "Naringa koe i kanga ki te pa-enua o to tupuna e kainga ua ia mai na." Kia akarongo te tamaiti i te tuatua o te metua vaine, kua ui te tamaiti ki te metua vaine: "Koai ia pa-enua?" Tera te tuatua a te metua vaine: "Noai ua a Avaiki e kainga ua ia mai ne?" Kua kite meitaki te tamaiti—a Karika—i te tuatua a te metua vaine, a Ueuenuku; kua kimi i te ravenga; kua tarai i te vaka. E oti i te anga, kua iki i te tangata okotai anere e ā ngauru (140). E oti, ko te aereanga ia ki te ta i taua pa-enua; e pou i te taia, riro mairā Avaiki i aia, koia atura te ariki i taua pa-enua. E oti, i reira kua tuatua a Karika ki nga metua kia Eaa, e Ueuenuku: "Nonoo io korua, ka aere au ki Tumu-te-varo-varo i tonga nui."

Ko to Karika aere anga mai ia ki Rarotonga nei. Ko te mua tikai ia o tona aereanga mai i uru mai i Avarua. Ko te tuku mai ia i te *Idolo*, ia Rangatira; e tuku katoa i te tiaki ko Tinao. Ko te tutaka anga ia i te enua, ko te au anga ia i nga marae i Avarua ma Araite-tonga. E oti, oki atura ki Avaiki, noo atura e roa. Kua inangaro ki te tutakataka aere, kua aere akaou atura ki te tutaka i te pa-enua. Kite atura i tetai ariki kino i tetai enua, kare e pa i te enua nona. Opukia atu ei ko taua ariki, taia e mate. Kia mate taua ariki kua riro te enua kiaia. Kave maira i te raukuru i te kainga ki Avarua ma Araitetonga, e kua vao i te tiaki ko Tu-varotonga. Oki atura ki Avaiki, e tae ki Avaiki kua aere akaou e tutaka i te pa-enua; kite atura i tetai tangata upokonui ki reira; opukia io ei ko taua tangata, taia e mate. Tera te mea i taia ai, no te enua o te tupuna, ta atu i te tangata e riro maira te enua iaia. Kua kave mai nei i te raukuru i te enua ki Rarotonga nei, uru mai i Rutaki, takai maira tona vaevae ki runga i te enua, tuatua ia akera ko, "te tapuae nui o Karika." Noo iora ki reira e roa, tuku iora i te tiaki ko Taikaputu, topa iora i te ingoa i taua ngai, ko "Te kena enua i Avaiki."

Oki atura ki Avaiki e toro i te metua ia Eaa, e te metua vaine ia Ueuenuku. E tae atura ki Avaiki kua aravei i nga metua, e oti, oki maira ki Rarotonga nei, e uru maira i Vavaroa. Kake atura ki te enua, e kua tuku i te tiaki i te enua ko Teko, koia Moko i Arakuo.

Oki atura ki Avaiki, e tae atura ki Avaiki kua noo e roa ki reira kua oki akaou maira ki Rarotonga nei; e tae maira ki te enua nei, kua noo ki Tokerau. Kua au i te marae ko Puatiki, topa i te ingoa ko Tokerau. Oki atura ki Avaiki, noo atura e roa, kua oki akaou mai ki Rarotonga nei, kua rave mai i tana vaine ia Marama-eru-tea, e te unga, ma te potiki, te matakeinanga, te urunga, ma te papa, e te tamaine, ko Mokoroa-ki-aitu. Ko tona akaruke anga ia ia Avaiki.

Kua noo ki Rarotonga nei e roa, kua rave i nga vaka e rua, ko Teuki-iti tetai, ko Teaukitonga tetai, e tona tangata okoitu (koia 140). Aere atura na te moana. I taua aereanga ona na te moana kua aravei i te pai a Tangiia ki Maketu e te tangata katoa. Kua tupu te riri o Karika, kua inangaro aia i te ta ia Tangiia. Kua kimi a Tangiia i tana ravenga e ora ai aia; tera te ravenga a Tangiia i kimi—Kua topatopa ingoa aia ia Karika; kua kite a Karika kua akaau atu raua. Tera te tuatua a Tangiia: “O atu te rangi kia koe.” E oti te tuatua kua auuri nga vaka, koia kua kapiti ko to Tangiia e to Karika. Kua kake e rua tangata mei runga i te vaka o Karika ki runga i te vaka o Tangiia; tera te ingoa o aua nga tangata, ko Te-nukua-ki-roto, e Tuiti. Kia noo ra raua ki runga ki taua vaka o Tangiia, tera ta raua tuatua kia Tangiia: “Ka mate koe ko te tae tonga teia i Avaiki, kare e puku enua i Avaiki; kia taa te rā e taia ai koe.” Ka akarongo a Tangiia i taua tuatua kua taia aia, kua mataku i reira, kua topatopa ingoa akaou a Tangiia, ko te rua ia te tuku ra a Tangiia i te rangi, e te tuatua, te kapiki ra a Tangiia: “Tera mai te putunga, tera mai te tuikaa, tera te ngutu poto, tera te rara tea, tera te rara roa, (koia te tangata) tera to vaka. Ko te tika a te tuaine.” E oti ta raua angaanga kua ui a Tangiia kia Karika: “Ka aere koe ki ea?” Kua tuatua mai a Karika kia Tangiia: “Ka aere au ki Tumute-Varo-varo i tonga nui.” E oti ta raua tuatua aere mai nei a Karika ki Rarotonga nei, aere aturā Tangiia i tona aereanga. Kia tae maira a Karika ki te enua nei kua uru mai i Vaikokopu, koia Ngatangia. Kake maira ki te enua nei kua tuku i te akairo ko Vairotopuia, e ruringa-oe ia na Karika. E oti, kua apai i te vaka e Tapu-uki, tuku atu ei ki reira ko te aere anga mai ia o Karika ki mua nei ki Tauae.

Ko te noo anga mou ia o Karika ki te enua nei; noo; noo; kare e roa kua uki te rima o Karika, no te mea ko tana tuke ia e akairo paa te akatau anga, me pera e pai tangata ka ta tangata ia. Aere aturā Karika ki runga ki te puku maunga te kiriti ra i te pare, topa iora i taua ngai tana i noo, kia Moe-moe-te-kura. E oti, kua akara ki te moana; kite atura i te pai o Tangiia te tu ua maira te rā i te pai, e tira paa te akatau anga. Kua kata iorā Karika no te mea kua reka-reka aia ko tei kite i te pai; topa iora i te puku mato i Tutakimoa kia

Taukata. Kia eke maira ki raro mei runga mai o te maunga, e tae mai ki te kainga, kua rave iora i te rakau ia Nina-enua; te oro ra i te ara e Vaikokopu. Kia tae a Karika e Vaikokopu, tera ko te pai o Tangiia. Te aere ra a Karika ki te uuna i te rakau ki Iti-a-rakau. E oti, kua oro ki tai i te ava, ka aere ka ta ia Tangiia. Kia kite maira nga tangata i kake ana mei runga atu i te pai o Karika ki runga ki te pai o Tangiia ia Karika, kua tuatua atura aua nga tangata, koia oki Te Nukua-ki-roto e Tuiti kia Tangiia: "Okotai mai toe taau tukuanga i te rangi kia Karika." Tu akera a Tangiia, te tuku ra i te rangi, te kapiti ra kia Karika: "Tera mai te tuatua, tera mai te putunga, tera mai te tuikaa, tera mai te ngutu poto, tera mai te rara tea, tera mai te rara roa, tera to vaka, o atu ki to rima." E oti, kua mou te rima o Makea-Karika. Te topa ra i te ingoa o te vaka ko Takitumu. Ko to Tangiia tae anga mai ia ki te enua nei.

Kia oti te au mea katoa, kua rave a Karika ia Tangiia, kua taoi mai kia Araitetonga, te umu tarakai ra, na Makea-Karika te kai i tau, na Tangiia. E, kia pou te kai, kua tua a Makea-Karika i te enua, to Makea e to Tangiia, to nga Mataiapo. Te aere maira a Makea e Tangiia ki Avarua nei, e tae mai raua ki mua nei kua noo tetai ki Tuitui-kamoana, koia Makea, te aere ra a Tangiia ki Tauae.

E oti, kua noo e roa, kua uki akaou te rima o Karika, ko tana peu ia e ta tangata, no te mea e pito rongoa tona ki te tangata mei Avaiki mai. I reira i aere mai ei nga akakite kia Tangiia ma Karika, ko Uenga ma Tautenga. I reira kua karanga a Tangiia: "Akua ko te ora, ko te mate." Kia rongo a Karika i te tuatua a Tangiia, tera ta Karika tuatua kia Tangiia: "E manga tena na taku tokotoko, na Nina-enua." I reira kua akamama a Karika i te kai na nga atua, na Maru-maomao ma Rangatira. I reira kua akamama a Tangiia i tana na Maru-maomao ma Tongaiti. E oti ta raua akaangai anga i nga atua ko to raua aere atura ia e tae atura ki Kiikii. Tei reira a Tutapu e tona toa ko Apapa-i-te-rangi. Tu akera ia Karika, ko Apapa-i-te-rangi; kua ta ko ta Karika tangata mua ia mate. Tu akera ia Tangiia ko Mataroa, taia e mate, ko tana mua ia. E oti, kua karanga a Karika kia Tangiia: "Na uta koe, na tai au." Te aere ra Karika na tai, ma te tamaine. Taia aturā Puariri, e toa, a Tonga, e Tokori, a Te-Eva, e ko Angavare. Ta aere ua atura a Karika i te tangata. E tae atura ki Tupapa, aravei atura raua ko Tangiia ki reira. Pou atura okotai tini ia raua i te ta. Vee akaou atura raua i reira, na uta a Tangiia, na tai a Karika; aere atura a Karika e Turanga-au, te noo ra ki reira, kua aravei akaou raua ko Tangiia. Kua noo katoa i reira, e, kua pu i te nu ki reira, e kia oti te pu anga i te nu, te aere ra raua na tai a Karika, na uta a Tangiia,

e tae a Karika e te ara, kua apai i tana rakau ia Nina-enua, e kua ta atura i tetai tangata ko Papaio te ingoa. Mei reira i tae atura ki Tuatea, kake atura ki Tukinuku, aravei akera raua ki reira ia Tutapu; kua ta atura ia Tutapu, kua motu atura te poo vaevae i te toka. Mei reira e tae atu ki te ava i Vaikokopu, kua ta atura i te tini tangata i runga i te pai, e pou. Kua rave maira i te atua o Tutapu, kua taoi maira ki Pounako. Kua tapaia te ingoa i taua ngai ki "Te Atua o Tutapu kia Kiikii."

Noo iora a Karika e roa, kua uki te rima, e tuke nana. E teia mai tetai vakavaka nunui ko Oe, e Ruaraki. Tu akera ia Karika, taia e mamate atura.

E oti te tainga, kua noo a Karika, e roa, kua uki te rima, teia mai e tokorua te aere maira, e puke ariki ma to raua tini, ko Rakau-katau tetai, ko Rakau-kau tetai. Tei runga a Karika e ta ana, e mamate atura.

Te noo ra a Karika, e roa, kua uki akaou te rima. Kare e roa teia mai a Te Ika-aurangi ma tona tini. Tei runga a Karika e ta ana, e mate atura; kare rava tetai i akatoe ia.

E oti te tainga kua aravei raua ko Tangiia, te noo ra, e roa te noo anga. Te tuatua ra a Karika kia Tangiia: "E noo koe ki to taua enua e ta taua tamaiti ko Makea-putaki-te-tai, ka aere au ki te itinga o te rā, e mate au ki tena vao." Aere atu ra Karika, noo a Tangiia ma Makea-putaki-te-tai.

Kua noo a Makea-putaki-te-tai ki te vaine, anau tana ko Te-Ariki-aka-mataku; anau tana ko Te-atua-rereao; anau tana ko Te-Ariki-i-te-au; anau tana ko Te-Ariki-noo-marie; anau tana ko Tama-puretu; anau tana ko Makea-peau-rongo; anau tana ko Makea-te-konako; anau tana ko Makea-te-taiti; anau tana ko Makea-te-ratu; anau tana ko Te-Ariki-ape-tini tetai, ko Rongo-oe tetai. Anau ta Te-Ariki-ape-tini ko Makea-te-ina; anau tana ko Makea-tauira-riki; anau tana ko Makea-tuke-rae; anau tana ko Makea-tarua; anau tana ko Makea-te-rangi-tu-ki-vao; anau tana ko Rangi-Makea; anau tana ko Makea-tapatu-kino; anau tana ko Makea-pini; anau tana ko Makea-tinirau, ka noo i te vaine ia Akaiti; anau ta raua ko Makea-pori; anau tana ko Makea-Davida; anau tana ko Makea-Tavaerua; Makea-Daniela; Makea-Abela; Makea-Takau.

Okotai vaka mei taito mai, ko Takitumu, ko Makea te ariki. Kia ikitia ra a Rongo-oe e Takaia, e rua atu vaka, Puaikura, ko Tinomana te Ariki.

TRANSLATION.

THE ROYAL GENEALOGY FROM AVAIKI DOWNWARDS,
FROM PAPA.

This is the comparison or illustration :—

The earth shall grow,
The earth shall be beautiful,
The earth shall bud,
The earth shall become mature,
The earth shall have duration,
The earth shall become a parent.

His (conch-shell) trumpet, his drum,
A kava-leaf¹ (in token of) royal office,
Following in the rear a shout.

Makea-vaerorangi married the daughter of Rongo, named Ina. They became the parents of—

Makea-Tavake,	who begat	10 Meke,	who begat
Nuku-akatau-ariki	"	Akanoi-ariki	"
Makea-ariki	"	Ariki-meiti	"
5 Taitopu	"	Te Pou-o-te-rangi	"
Makea-mimi-ti-nui	"	Makea-kapeu-te-rangi	"
Makea-ka-tu-iti	"	15 Oe	"
Ikitia	"	Eaa	"
Apainga	"	17 Karika	"

This Karika was a bad quarrelsome child ; hence his mother said to him, " It were better instead of quarrelling that you considered the lands of your ancestor, which are being consumed (or occupied) by others." The boy listened to the words of his mother, and then asked of her, " What land do you refer to ?" Then his mother said to him, " Whose land then is Avaiki, which is being consumed ?" Then the boy Karika understood the word of his mother Ueuenuku, and sought means to carry out the project he had formed, and built a canoe for the purpose. When it was finished he selected 140 men to accompany him. He then proceeded to the conquest of that land, and prevailed in the fight, so that Avaiki became his, and he was the king of that land.² Then Karika spoke to his parents, to Eaa and Ueuenuku, thus : " Remain both of you here whilst I go to Tumu-te-varo-varo³ in the south."

This was Karika's first visit to Rarotonga. The very first place he landed at was Avarua. He set up his god Rangatira, and appointed Tinao to the charge of it. Then he made a circuit of the land, and built the *maraes* at Avarua and at Araitetonga. When that was done he returned to Avaiki, and stayed there some time. After a time he wished to make another voyage, and proceeded to visit other lands.

He found on one island a perverse chief who refused to surrender to him. Karika seized that chief and killed him, and when he was dead took possession of the land, and brought away the raukuru⁴ to his home at Avarua and Araitetonga, and appointed Tu-varo-tonga to the charge of it. He then returned to Avaiki, and from thence went on a voyage to other lands, on one of which he found a man with a large head; he seized him and put him to death. The reason he killed him was because the land belonged to his forefathers; after killing him the land became his (Karika's). Then he brought the raukuru⁴ of that land to Rarotonga; he landed at Rutaki, and when he placed his foot on the shore named the place "The great footsteps of Karika." He remained there for some time, and appointed as a guardian of it, Taikaputa, and named the place "The boundary of Avaiki."

He again returned to Avaiki to visit his father Eaa, and his mother Ueenuku. When he arrived at Avaiki he met his parents, and after a time returned to Rarotonga, landing at Vavaroa. When he had landed he appointed as a guardian for the place Teko, or Moko, at Arakuo. Then he again returned to Avaiki, and on his arrival stayed there. After a lengthened stay, he returned to Rarotonga, and lived at Tokerau. He there built a *marae* named Puatiki, and named it (also ?) Tokerau.⁵ Again he proceeded to Avaiki, and stayed there a long time, then returned to Rarotonga, bringing with him his wife Marama-eru-tea, his serfs, his children, his people, his pillow, his *papa*,⁶ and his daughter Mokoroa-ki-aitu. This was his final abandonment of Avaiki.

After remaining for some time at Rarotonga, he built two canoes, one was called Te-uki-iti, the other Te-au-ki-tonga, and manned them with 140 men. Then he put to sea. During this voyage he met Tangiia at Maketu,⁷ with all his men. Then Karika was seized with anger, and desired to kill Tangiia. The latter sought for some means by which he might save himself. This was the course he adopted, viz.: to give royal names to Karika, who understood the meaning, and became at once friendly. These were the words of Tangiia: "I give the regal authority to you." After the words were spoken the canoes were joined together, that of Tangiia to that of Karika. Then two men from the canoe of Karika joined the canoe of Tangiia; these are the names of those men—Te-nukua-ki-roto and Tuiti. When they had been seated in that canoe some time they said to Tangiia, "You will die on the arrival at Avaiki; there is no land (or portion) for you in Avaiki;⁸ when the sun descends you will be killed." Then Tangiia listened to those words in reference to his death, and he was afraid, and he applied royal names afresh to

Karika; for the second time he offered the regal authority, and added these words: "Yours is the pile of food, the slaves, the 'short-lip' (or hog), the whale, the 'long-hog,' to eat (man); yours is the canoe, and what remains is the sister's portion." After these arrangements, Tangiia asked Karika: "Where are you going?" and Karika replied: "I am going to Tumu-te-varo-varo, in the South." When these words had been spoken, he started away directly for Rarotonga, and Tangiia went on his way also. When Karika arrived at this land he came ashore at Vaikokopu, at Ngatangia, and left there the "token" called Vairotopuia, which was a "ruringa-oe"¹⁰ of Karika's. Then the canoe was taken charge of by Tapu-uki, and from thence Karika proceeded for the first time to Tauae.

This was the final settling down of Karika in this land. After some considerable time the hand of Karika jerked (or itched), which was a peculiarity of his, or a sign of the arrival of a great double canoe full of warriors, and that they would be slain. Then Karika went up to a mountain and took off his plume, and called the name of the place where he rested Moe-moe-te-kura. Then he looked toward the sea, and saw the great double canoe of Tangiia with its mast standing. Karika laughed, for he was pleased at seeing the canoe. He named the rocky crag at Tutakimoa, Taukata. And when he had descended from the mountain and arrived at his home, he took his weapon *Nina-enua* and hastened along the road to Vaikokopu. When Karika arrived at Vaikokopu there was the canoe of Tangiia. Karika then hid his weapon at Iti-a-rakau. Having done that, he hastened to the beach at the harbour to kill Tangiia. So soon as the men who had left the canoe of Karika for that of Tangiia saw the former they—that is, Te Nukua-ki-roto and Tuiti—said to Tangiia, "Once more deliver your submission to Karika." Then Tangiia arose to submit himself, and said to Karika, "Thine is the word, thine the *putunga*, thine the *tuikaa*, thine the *ngutu-poto*, thine the *rara tea*, thine the *rara roa*, here is thy canoe: I give it to thee." And Tangiia grasped the hand of Karika, and named the canoe Takitumu.¹¹ This was Tangiia's (first) arrival at this land.

When all these things had been done, Karika took Tangiia, and lead him to Araitetonga, where was the oven for the feast which was prepared by Karika for Tangiia. And when the food had been consumed Karika divided the land to Makea, to Tangiia, and to the Mataiapos. Then came Makea and Tangiia to Avarua, and on their first arrival one stayed at Tui-tui-ka-moana—that is, Karika did—and Tangiia went on to Tauae.

After they had stayed there some time the hand of Karika itched

anew, which was its custom before he killed a man : his disposition inclined him to war even from Avaiki. Then came two seers to Tangiia and Karika named Uenga and Tautenga.¹²

Then said Tangiia, " Let it be for life or for death." When Karika heard the words of Tangiia he replied to him, " They will be food for my club, for *Nina-enua*."¹³ Then Karika offered food for the gods—for Maru-mamao, and for Rangatira. At the same time Tangiia offered his to Maru-mamao, and to Tongaiti. When they had finished feeding the gods they went on their way to Kiikii. At that place was Tutapu¹⁴ and his warrior Apapa-i-te-rangi. Karika arose and killed Apapa-i-te-rangi. There was killed Karika's first man quite dead. Then arose Tangiia and killed Mataroa : he smote him to death. That was his first man. After that Karika said to Tangiia, " You go by the inland (road¹⁵), I will go by the beach path." And Karika proceeded by the beach path with his daughter. Then were killed Puariri (a brave warrior), Tonga, Tokori, Te-Eva, and Angavare. Karika killed (many) men as he went along. When he arrived at Tupapa he and Tangiia met there. A great many men were killed by them (there). They separated anew at that place, Tangiia going by the inland way, Karika by the beach path. And Karika went to Turanga-au, and remained there until he and Tangiia again met. He remained there, and sounded the trumpet at that place, and when the sounding of the trumpet had ceased they went on their way, Karika by the seaside, and Tangiia by the inland way, and directly the former reached the road he lifted up his weapon *Nina-enua*, and killed a certain man whose name was Papaio. From there he went on to Tuatea, and ascended to Tukinuku, where both fell in with Tutapu, and Tutapu was killed, his feet having been wounded by a stone. Thence they went on to the harbour at Vaikokopu, and smote the multitude of men on the great double canoe (belonging to Tutapu), and finished them. Then they took the god of Tutapu and brought it to Pounako, and called the name of that place " The god of Tutapu at Kiikii."

Karika dwelt (in peace) some time, and then his hand itched—his usual sign. Soon after arrived a large canoe (a fleet ?) commanded by Oe and Ruriki. Up rose Karika and smote them to death.

When the fighting was over Karika remained (quietly) sometime ; and again his hand itched, and then two men arrived—both chiefs—with their multitude : their names were Rakaukatau and Rakau-kau. Karika arose and smote them, and killed them.

Karika again remained (in peace) for some time, when his hand itched anew. Before long there arrived Te Ika-aurangi with his

multitude, and Karika arose and smote them till they died: not a single one was left (alive).

After this fighting he and Tangiia met, and remained together for a long time. Then spoke Karika to Tangiia, "Remain thou in our land with our child Makea-putaki-te-tai, I am going to the east, and shall die there far away. And Karika went on his way, and Tangiia remained with Makea-putaki-te-tai.

Then Makea-putaki-te-tai married a wife, and they begat

Te Ariki-aka-mataku, who begat	16	Makea-ta-ruia, who begat
Te Atua-rereao "		Makea-te-rangi-tu-ki-vao "
5 Te Ariki-i-te-au "		Rangi-makea "
Te Ariki-noo-marie "		Makea-tapatua-kino "
Tama-puretu "	20	Makea-pini "
Makea-peau-rongo "		Makea-tinirau, who married Aka-
Makea-te-konako "		iti, who begat
10 Makea-te-taiti "		Makea-pori, who begat
Makea-te-ra-tu "		Makea-Davida "
{ Te Ariki-ape-tini and }		Makea-Tavaerua, and
{ Rongo-oe }		Makea-Daniela, and
Makea-teina "		Makea-Abela, and
Makea-tauira-ariki "	24	Makea-Takau ¹⁶
15 Makea-tuke-rae "		

There was but one tribe from of old, and Makea was king. Later on, Rongo-oe was chosen (king) by Takaia, and so there came to be a second clan, named Puaikura (in Rarotonga), with Tinomana as their chief.

NOTES.

1. This is understood to mean the kava-leaf or plant, from the root of which a liquid was prepared pertaining to royal dignity.—W.W.G.

2. The land here conquered is said to be Avaiki. As it is known from other sources that Karika sailed from Manu'a, the eastern island of the Samoan Group, when he migrated to Rarotonga, it is presumable that Avaiki here is intended for Savaii of Samoa.

3. Tumute-varo-varo is the ancient name of Rarotonga.

4. *Rau-kuru*, literally "a bread-fruit leaf." As soon as an antagonist was overcome in battle, the victor beat in his skull, and taking out a portion of the brain placed it on bread-fruit leaves and carried it immediately to his god, as an earnest of the offering he was about to bring.—W.W.G. See also Williams' "Missionary Enterprises," page 182, edition of 1846.

5. The meaning is not clear here, as to whether there were two names to the *marae*.

6. *Papa* is here not clear as to meaning.

7. Maketu is in Mauke Island, as explained in vol. I. "Journal of the Polynesian Society," page 28.

8. The narrative is not clear in this part. The two voyagers were at that time bound for Rarotonga, and yet Tangiia is told that he will die on their arrival at Avaiki.

9. *The canoe*, meaning the canoe, the people, and all it contained. Throughout this narrative the word *pai* (Maori, *pahi*) is translated "canoe." Dr. Gill says:—"The *pai* is the ship of the old heathen days, *i.e.*, a large double-canoe, decked, and with masts and sails, full of warriors."

10. *Ruringa-oe*, "turning up of a paddle." There is some meaning attached to this in a technical sense with which I am unacquainted.—W.W.G. Mr. Nicholas says it was a "private title of Karika's."

11. *Takitumu*. I fancy it was his (Karika's) own great double-canoe that got a new name that day; but *vaka* also means a tribe (as in New Zealand). It may be that it indicates the entire union of the two tribes (Karika's and Tangiia's) under a new name, Karika being the great chief over all.—W.W.G.

12. The narrative does not say what the two seers (*matakite*) disclosed to the two chiefs, but they appear, from what follows, to have predicted war.

13. *They will be food for my club—for Nina-enua*, a common expressive phrase.—W.W.G. It is also common to the Maoris, as is also the custom of giving names to celebrated weapons, as *Nina-enua* in this case.

14. *Tutapu*, Tangiia's elder brother, see vol. I. "Journal Polynesian Society," page 28.

15. The "inland road" was called "Te ara nui o Toi." It would be very interesting to ascertain the history of this road, and why it got its name. Can it have anything to do with Toi-te-hua-tahi, a great chief, who, according to Maori tradition, lived in Hawaiki at the time of the Maori migration to New Zealand?

16. The genealogical table here given is just as written down in the document forwarded from Rarotonga, which is in the native handwriting; but although the number of generations from Makea-Karika to Makea-Takau agrees within one with those given by Dr. Wyatt Gill in "Reports of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science," vol. II., the order is not the same, nor are the names always spelt quite the same. The list is, however, just as supplied by the native author.

In the "Transactions of the Royal Society" of New South Wales, for 1891, p. 138, is given a list of the kings of Manu'a, from which place it is known that Karika sailed when he discovered Rarotonga, or Tumu-te-varo-varo, as it appears also to have been called at that time. This list is only in part a genealogical table, for the kingship in Manu'a Island appears sometimes to have fallen to the brothers; consequently the number of generations from Karika down to the present time cannot be compared with the list given above; but the number of reigns mentioned in the Manu'a list is apparently 23 from 'Ali'a-matua (which is the same name as Karika) down to 1830. Dr. J. Fraser, in the paper quoted, says: "Some of the early kings also lived to a great age; but most of the more recent reigns were very short; for it was the custom to select only men of mature age and experience to the office." The near agreement in number of the reigns of the Manu'a kings with the generations of the Rarotongan kings, at any rate allows us to fix a relative date of the migration of Karika and his people to Rarotonga, the more so, as this number is confirmed by other Rarotongan lines (see p. 21, "Journal of the Polynesian Society," vol. I.). It is perhaps unnecessary to add that 'Ali'a is the Samoan pronunciation of Karika.





PAOA.

ON page 61, vol I., "Journal of the Polynesian Society" reference is made to this ancestor of the Maori people. The history and antecedents of this man is an exceedingly interesting subject for inquiry, as I have every reason to believe that he was one of the earliest visitors to these shores, concerning whom we have a genuine record and genealogy.

Of the doings of Paoa in New Zealand there are many traditions extant among the northern Ngati-Kahungunu, Rongowhakaata, and Ngati-porou Tribes, who dwell on the East Coast of New Zealand near East Cape, all of which, to say the least, border on the marvellous. This, however, may be looked for in the case of any great man after the lapse of twenty-seven generations.

It is not only in New Zealand that this man has been deified, and, as a natural consequence, had all sorts of impossible actions ascribed to him, for in Turner's Samoa, page 42,* Paoa is described as having resided on the island of Upolu, which it is said he left in consequence of a dispute with the god Tangaroa. The method whereby he succeeded in escaping from the island has the merit of novelty, for we are told that he took a taro leaf and sailed thereon to Fiji. Astonishing as this feat may seem to his descendants of the present day, who have no longer the assistance and protection of the gods of the Polynesian pantheon, it is not more marvellous than his subsequent performances in New Zealand, when, by a simple effort of nature, he formed the three rivers Waipaoa, Waiapu, and Motu.

After an absence of many years, Paoa, to the astonishment of his friends, returned to Upolu accompanied by a son of the King of Fiji. Here he passes out of New Zealand history.

* Dr. Turner, in his "Samoa a Hundred Years Ago, and Long Before," refers to this hero or god as Pava; the difference between Pawa and Paoa is very slight, and in Maori the one has often been used for the other.—EDITORS.

It may, I think, be fairly assumed that Paoa was one of the great Polynesian navigators, of whom there were many in those days, and that during the period of his absence from Upolu he visited New Zealand. In like manner, for reasons which I shall presently give, we may also assume that he brought with him at least one daughter.

From New Zealand tradition we gather that Paoa came hither in the canoe Horouta, and landed in the first place at a spot which he named Ahuahu*, that he then planted the kumara, and thence sailed southwards until, in the neighbourhood of Ohiwa, the canoe grounded on a reef, which is called Tukirae-Kirikiri. We now find that there were 140 men on board, for we are told that as the canoe was seriously damaged only 70 men, under the chiefs Hikitapua and Makawa remained on board, the remaining half of the crew, led by Paoa, Ira, Koneke, Te Paki, Hakutore, Awapaka, Taneherepi, Tangitoronga, Mahu, Hautakitaki, and Tararoti, went by land, it is said, in order to prepare timber with which to repair the damaged canoe.

It has hitherto been the fashion to speak and write of the Maori migrations as though the crews of all those canoes which are recorded as having come to this island had remained here as permanent residents. This is a question beyond the scope of this paper, but it is one with which I propose to deal on another occasion. I may, however, remark that, from what I know of the subject, a very large majority of the people in the canoes that reached New Zealand did not come with any intention of residing permanently in the country, but merely in search of adventures. In some cases none of the crews remained, in other cases but one or two. This was probably the case with the Horouta canoe. Here we have a goodly array of chiefs, but of these only Paoa has descendants† living among the Maoris at the present day. The Whanau-Apanui and Ngati-ira tribes, it is true, claim to be descended from an ancestor named Ira, but reference to the position occupied by this man in the attached genealogy will show that he could not have come with Paoa. The Ngamaihi tribe of Whakatane also claim descent from Mahu, but the generations from that man to present time do not exceed eighteen in number.

* Great Mercury Island in the Bay of Plenty.

† A divergent tradition is given by White in his "Ancient History of the Maori," vol. III., p. 46. He states that the supreme chiefs of the Horouta canoe were Ruawharo, Rongokako, Tamatea, and Kahungunu (all of whom have well-known lines of descendants); that they took possession of the land on the East Coast of the North Island, and as far as Patea on the West Coast; some crossed to the South Island, and settled at Otakou.—EDITORS.

Under these circumstances I can only conclude that the Ira and Mahu last mentioned are not the chiefs who came in Horouta, and that, with the single exception of Paoa's daughter, none of the crew or passengers of that canoe remained in New Zealand.

It is a significant fact that no tribe of Maoris claim Horouta as their ancestral canoe, though many of the East Coast tribes assert that it was identical with the Takitumu canoe, and that it made two voyages to New Zealand under these widely different names.

In every tradition or genealogy that I have seen, Paoa's daughter is known as Hineakua, and this name is particularly worthy of notice, inasmuch as it distinctly indicates the Polynesian source of her birth. I know of no other instance among the Maoris, whether in tradition or genealogy, ancient or modern, in which the "k" has been used instead of the "t." It would also appear that the then inhabitants of New Zealand had not come from that part of the Pacific in which the Maori "t" becomes a "k," or they would have recognised the familiar *atua* in the *akua*, and have altered the pronunciation to suit their own ideas of correct pronunciation.*

The following is one of the best and most reliable of the genealogies from Paoa:—

1. *m* Paoa.
2. *f* Hineakua = Kahutuanui.
3. *m* Haua = Wairaka.
4. *m* Aniu-Kitaharangi = Rangikataukiwaho.
5. *f* Te Ngore = Rakaukoko. Ira.
6. *m* Ueroa = Taraiwhana. |
7. Tahungahenui = Hiarore. Tamatea† = Iwitererewa.
8. Ruatēpupuke = Tuwairua. |
9. Ruapane = Wairua. |
10. Ruarauhanga = Kahungunu. Iranui.
11. Ruaroa = Rahirimomore.
12. Kahunoke = Kahukirokiro.

* It seems to us that Major Gudgeon has not proved that the *akua* in Hineakua's name is identical with the word *atua*, and some further evidence of this seems necessary. The only branch of the Polynesian race which uses *akua* for *atua* is the Hawaiian, and it is believed that the substitution of the "k" for the "t" in their language is of modern date, probably as recent as the beginning of this century. There is little doubt that the Hawaiians and Maoris are connected by descent from common ancestors, especially through Kaitangata, Hema, Tawhaki, Wahiora, and Rata, who occur in the same order in the genealogies of both races.—EDITORS.

† We would suggest that further evidence of Horouta being a different canoe to Takitumu is to be found in this name Tamatea, who in several traditions is given as the captain of Takitumu, under the full name of Tamatea-pokai-whenua. He was, according to other accounts, the father of Kahu-ngunu, from whom the great tribe dwelling on the East Coast of the North Island take their name—Ngati-kahu-ngunu.—EDITORS.

13. Tamateakuku = Ruakopito.
14. Rongotemania = Ruahe.
15. Koanihe = Te Ruinga.
16. Whatairikura = Tawehe.
17. Te Angiangi = Manono.
18. Kahutapere = Hineterangi.
19. Hinekonuhanga = Tureia.
20. Te Huki = Te Ropuhina.
21. Te Rakatou = Hinewehi.
22. Wharekuku.
23. Te Mimi o te Rangi.
24. Te Ratau.
25. Ihaka Whanga.
26. Hirini Whanga (40 years of age).

By the line of Te Ropuhina, through Tuhoropunga, there are 28 generations from Paoa to Hirini Whanga.

W. E. GUDGEON.





STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM THE CHATHAM ISLANDS.

MR. A. SHAND was lately able to secure a collection of stone implements from Chatham Island (or Rekohu, its Moriori name), which were found by Mr. Todd at Opuhi, near Owenga, on the East Coast of the island. The tools were buried about a foot under the surface, having probably been deposited there for safety during some crisis in the lifetime of the proprietor, not improbably at the time the island was conquered by the Maoris in 1835.

The collection consists of twenty-seven articles: they have been deposited with the excellent ethnological collection of the Auckland Museum. It is unlikely that so good a general assortment of tools will again be found at the Chatham Islands, and hence their value, though they fail to include among them many of the implements formerly in use by the Moriori.

The *tokis*, or adzes, are many of them highly polished, and are perfect tools of their kind; indeed, it is somewhat rare to find so high a polish and complete a finish amongst Maori tools of the same description. They are most of them formed of close-grained volcanic rocks. The material was derived, according to the Moriori account, from the bed of the Awa-inanga stream, the Moriori name of which is Wai-taheke-rere.

The illustration shows the type of several of these tools. The original of the figure on the top is formed of an exceedingly close-grained black basaltic stone, highly polished, and beautifully worked, with a sharp cutting edge. There are five of these; they vary in length from 3 inches to 1·5 inches, and were used in light work, and for finishing purposes after roughing-out by the larger *toki*. The general name for the small *toki* is *panehe*. That on the left of the illustration is an average specimen of four larger ones: it measures 7 inches in length, 2·2 inches in width on the cutting edge, or *mata*, 1·5 inches at the other end, with an average thickness of 1·1 inches. This group is formed of close-grained dark-grey rock, fairly polished, and well finished, the edges being perfectly ground,

and the faces quite sharp. The figure on the right is a *whao*, or chisel, used for boring holes in canoes, or in other wooden material, such as the *koua* or wooden stern-post of the Moriori raft. It is 7.5 inches long, with a mean circumference of 8 inches. It is cylindrical in shape, and has a slight curve in its length; it is fairly well polished, and formed of light-grey close-grained volcanic rock. A second *whao* is 6 inches long, 2.75 inches in circumference, and in all respects like the other in shape, but is formed of lime-stone. The centre figure of the plate represents a pointed borer, and appears to be made of limestone, though it has somewhat the appearance of fossil bone. The marks made by the *toki* in chipping it into shape are plainly visible on it still.

The rest of the collection consists of *toki* in various degrees of finish, and of different shapes, many of them with the oval cross-section of the common Maori *toki*. Amongst them are two roughly chipped knives (*mata*) or scrapers, made of a yellow flint or jasperoid rock common on the ranges at the south-east side of the island. These were used for cutting up seals and whales, and for cleaning the skins of the former to make articles of clothing.

The collection does not contain any specimens of the *okewa*, used formerly as a weapon, or insignia of rank; nor of the *pohatu-taharua*, a weapon like the *mere-paraoa* of the Maori.

Finally there is a *hoanga*, or grinding-stone, oval in shape, about 12 inches long, 8 inches wide, and 4 inches deep, formed of a coarse yellow sandstone, with a hollow oval groove in its upper surface, in which the implements were ground down with the aid of water.

Mr. Shand has been good enough to supply me with the following "grinding song" of the Moriori, which they sung as they performed the laborious and tedious process of reducing to shape the various stone implements in daily use. Much of the spare time of the men was devoted to this work, and when we come to consider the time occupied from first to last in turning out one of these highly polished implements, we cannot be surprised at the value formerly set on them by their owners. The introduction of the European steel tools, of course immediately decreased their value enormously. The following is the song; it is, I believe, the first specimen of Moriori composition ever printed. Mr. Shand has promised to furnish a literal translation, but desires to consult the few old men still alive as to the exact meaning of some of the words before doing so:—

KO TCH ORO TOKI O HINE-TCHU-WAI-WANGA.

First voice.

Matchu aha?
Matchu aha?
Matchu aha?
Matchu aha?
Matchu aha?

Second voice.

Matchu ka kimi.
Matchu pokai.
Matchu amio.
Matchu ki hahau.
Matchu ka kuti.

Matchu aha ?
 Matchu aha ?
 Matchu aha ?
 Matchu aha ?
 Matchu aha ?
 Matchu aha ?

Matchu moto rere.
 Matchu takoto.
 Matchu ka tā.
 Matchu ka ngawha.
 Matchu hapurangi.
 Matchu titoré katoa.

Chorus—Oreia, oro toki, oro toitoi wa kai e, e, ra koe. Kauae ro ra koe.
 Kauae ro ra koe, Hine-tchu-wai-wanga.
 Oreia, oro toki, oro toitoi wa kai e, e, ra koe. Kauae ro ra koe.
 Kauae ro ra koe.

The meaning may briefly be given as this: The first voice asks what the cutting of the stone is for, the second voice replies that it is to shape the tool, to sharpen it, and describes the flying of the chips, the splitting of the stone, etc. The chorus appears to address the operator in terms of encouragement, urging him to continue his work, with an appeal also to the goddess of axe-sharpening. The song or incantation is said to have been first used at the making of the axes for building the Rangimata canoe, in which the ancestors of the Moriori left Hawaiki for Rekohu or Chatham Island. If so it is very ancient, for the Rangimata arrived there about twenty-eight generations ago.

Hine-tchu-wai-wanga, is the Hine-tu-a-hoanga of the Maori*, the goddess or deified ancestress, who is always connected in some form with the production of stone axes. Mr. Tregear, in his "Maori Comparative Dictionary," gives a reference to her and her history in the following quotation:—

"Some ancient personage referred to in the mystical story of 'Poutini and Whaiapu'—'Polynesian Mythology,' p. 82. She drove Ngahue out from his former dwelling-place, and in his wanderings he came to New Zealand, bringing with him his famous *ika* (fish), the greenstone of Poutini. 2. A great priestess and magician, a grand-daughter of Tawhaki, and the sister of Rata. When Rata was unable to use the tree he had felled, designing it for a canoe (he not having repeated the proper invocation, the wood-fairies set the tree up again when felled), his sister told him to sharpen his axe on her sacred body, which, being done, had the desired effect. Hence her name, 'The-maiden-standing-as-a-grind-stone;' or, as the southern version gives it, 'The-maiden-whose-back-was-a-whetstone' (Kawe, e whakairi ana ki runga ki te tua-iwi o tou tupuna, ko Hine-tua-oaka)—Wohl., Trans., VII., 46. For the sharpening invocation, 'Oro oro te toki na Hine-tu-a-hoanga,' see 'Shortland's Traditions,' p. 165. Hine came to New Zealand in Rata's canoe—'Shortland's Traditions,' p. 8."

S. PERCY SMITH.

* In Rarotonga, Ruateatonga seems to occupy the same place as presiding deity over all axe work as Hine-tu-a-hoanga in New Zealand and Chatham Island—*vide* Dr. Wyatt Gill's interesting paper in vol. II. "Reports of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science," page 342.



THE OCCUPATION OF THE CHATHAM ISLANDS BY THE MAORIS IN 1835.

BY A. SHAND, ESQ., OF CHATHAM ISLAND.

PART I.—THE MIGRATION OF NGATIAWA TO PORT NICHOLSON.

THE following account has been derived from the Maoris themselves, many of those who supplied the information having been actors in the scenes here related. The story has been checked wherever possible by members of other tribes, who either themselves or their fathers were engaged in the same incidents. Recourse has been had to European sources for some of the dates, for the Maoris do not know anything of chronology in our sense of the word. Such as it is, it is believed to be the fullest account ever yet published of the migration of the Taranaki tribes from their former homes to the neighbourhood of Cook's Strait, whilst the actual occupation of the Chatham Islands by them has never before been written. Mr. W. T. L. Travers, in vol. V., Transactions of the N.Z. Institute, has given an interesting account of the Ngatitoa migration from Kawhia, which is intimately mixed up with that of Ngatiawa. The Maori account of the seizure of the French whaler *Jean Bart* places an entirely different aspect on this episode to that given by the French, and proves that the Maoris were not so much to blame in the matter as has generally been supposed. The history of the Maori occupation of the Auckland Islands is quite new, and adds another interesting chapter to the history of the race. Brief mention of this occupation is to be found scattered through various works, but none so complete as that now given by Mr. Shand as derived from the people who formerly resided on the Island.

EDITORS.

IN narrating the occupation of the Chatham Islands by the Maoris of New Zealand—for it can scarcely be called a conquest: the aboriginal Moriori inhabitants absolutely made no resistance—it may prove interesting to give a slight sketch of the causes, as related by themselves, of their leaving their ancestral homes in Kawhia and Taranaki, and of their subsequent settlement in Waikanae and other places on the north shore of Cook's Strait prior to their occupation of Port Nicholson (Whanganui-a-Tara). It was from the latter place, after seizing the brig *Rodney*, that they compelled the captain to take them to the Chatham Islands, or Wharekauri, so called by the Maoris from a small *Kainga* on the north coast of that name. The real name of the island is Rēkōhū (Maori, Rangikohu), which means "misty land," presumably so named from the hazy atmosphere of the island.

In the first place, the advent of Europeans to New Zealand in the early years of this century had a very disturbing influence on the Maori population generally, and more especially on those who first procured firearms. The tribes first acquiring them, although as a rule not a whit braver than their neighbours, instantly made themselves terrible, and sufficiently powerful to subdue their neighbours and adversaries. For instance, the Ngapuhi, with a *taua* (war party) of *hokowhitu* (140), which only possessed two old flint muskets—one of French, the other of English make—made the circuit of the North Island, going by the east, and returning by the west coast. Their mode of operation—as told by one of themselves—was to fire off these two muskets at their adversaries at the offset, who immediately on hearing the report broke and fled, on which the others rushed at once in full pursuit, knocking their enemies down and killing them as they ran away. The Maoris, however, were not slow to find out the weak points in such a mode of warfare; later on the Whanganui people managed to inveigle another Ngapuhi *taua* into a thicket, where their guns could not be used to advantage, and with superior numbers attacked and killed the whole party, after which Ngapuhi returned no more to trouble them.

About 1819, Rauparaha, with his tribe, the Ngatitōa—a section of the Ngatiraukawa tribe—were living in Kawhia, and he had been indulging his ferocious propensities by murdering his Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto neighbours. Having killed Te Uira and others, the Waikato tribes, led by Potatau te Wherowhero, of Ngatimahuta, combined with Ngatimaniapoto, and made war upon Ngatitōa, who lost many lives, and were fast being hemmed in. On seeing this, Te Rangituatea, a Ngatimaniapoto chief, but a connection of Rauparaha's, opened the way for him, and told him "to go;" and so he was able to leave Kawhia, where he was then besieged, and would in the end have been killed. The account of his leaving Kawhia is given in vol. VI. of Mr. John White's "*Ancient History of the Maori*" by Tamihana

Rauparaha, who, however, does not go into details, or narrate anything regarding his father's deeds which called for Te Wherowhero's pursuit of him and his people to obtain revenge.

After his escape from Kawhia he came to Okoki in the Urenui district of Taranaki, and resided there. This migration was called the *Heke-mai-i-raro*.* The Waikatos, not having had sufficient revenge, followed him up, and attacked him there, together with their old enemies the Ngatimutunga, the owners of the soil. Te Wherowhero brought a large war party with him, including many very notable Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto chiefs, and encamped at a small ridge called Te Motunui, on the south side of the Mimi River, where the Waikatos attacked Te Rauparaha and his Ngatimutunga allies under their chiefs Rangiwahia, Rangitokona, and many others. The fight was commenced by the Waikatos, led by Potatau, Te Hiakai, and other chiefs. Whilst Te Rauangaanga, Potatau's father, was busy on the eminence with his incantations "concealing the stars," his brave son was fighting on the flat below. In the Waikato's first great rush they carried everything before them, and the Ngatimutunga, with Rauparaha, broke and ran back in the direction of Okoki, a conical hill a little to the north of the Urenui River. Te Hiakai, flushed with the intoxication of victory, shouted, "Paddle, paddle the canoe, that it may be heard; a battle won, a *pa* taken!" (*"Hoea, hoea te waka, kia rongona ai, he parekura, he pa horo"*); but he little dreamt of the sequel. The Ngatimutunga and their allies meanwhile had lost several men, and more were being killed as they retreated towards Okoki. Seeing this, one of them—Ketu te Ropu—who was running away with Te Rauparaha, kept saying to him "Turn," a request which the latter refused to comply with until he had got to the *kaumatuas* and old chiefs, Rangiwahia and others, who were in reserve. The Waikatos, having followed in pursuit for over half a mile, were in straggling formation, and out of wind, and while some of them were cutting up the slain, Rauparaha and his party made a fierce and determined rush at their pursuers, killing all the foremost men, including Te Hiakai, Hore, Mama, and others. Te Hiakai had a gun, the possession of which formed the subject of a contest between two warriors of the Ngatimutunga, and he would have escaped whilst the others were fighting for its possession had not another person perceived him in time, and killed him. At this period the fight was raging fiercely; Rauparaha, with his Ngatimutunga allies, were pressing the Waikatos sorely, and it is alleged that but for the extreme bravery of Potatau the latter's tribe would have been annihilated. Potatau was very hard pressed, but fought like a lion; many attacked

* Mr. Travers gives this name to a subsequent *heke*—or migration—of the Ngatiraukawa tribe to join Te Rauparaha in Cook's Strait, but it is believed to be correctly applied in the text above.—EDITORS.

him, but paid dearly for their temerity. One Puanaki, who died long afterwards in the Chatham Islands, made a blow at him with his *taiaha*, just grazing his forehead. Potatau replied to this by a return blow, knocking out one of Puanaki's eyes, but barely escaped a second adversary's *taiaha*, which was only intercepted by a branch of *tutu*. It is said also that at some part of this fight Potatau met a celebrated warrior of the Ngatimutunga named Pitawa; each faced the other, making slight feints, but neither daring to strike the first blow with his *taiaha*, both well knowing that he who did so would lose his life. The fight had continued till evening; the Waikatos, after the second onset, being barely able to hold their own, and repel their adversaries. At this juncture a pause occurred, and it is said by some that Te Rangituatea, who had previously allowed Rauparaha a passage from Kawhia—in fact, protected him, being related to him—called out, “*E 'Raha, he aha to koha ki au ?*” (“‘Raha, what is your kindness to me ?”) Rauparaha, immediately recognising the voice, said, “*E tika ana. E ahu koe ki runga ka ora koe, e ahu koe ki raro ka kati te kauae runga ki te kauae raro*” (“It is true.* If you go south you will be saved, if you go north the upper jaw will snap on the lower jaw”). Very brief, but thoroughly comprehended by both parties, and understood as implying a great deal. The meaning was that Rangituatea should go south to Pukerangiora *pa*, where Tukorehu and his party of Waikatos were beleaguered by the Atiawa,† but that if he went north the way he came he would encounter Te Kaeaea or Taringakuri, and between the two parties none would escape. The Waikatos took this advice, and left in the darkness, crossing the Waitara River at the mouth, the tide being favourable, and went direct to Pukerangiora, where they joined their relatives under Tukorehu, and had a grievous cry over their losses. After some time, and being thus reinforced, Waikato marched back home, neither attacking nor being attacked; neither side evidently deeming it prudent, and the Waikatos well pleased to get away.

The Waikato did not trouble the Ngatiawa after this for several years, indeed, not until they once more returned, and, taking advantage of the absence in the South at Waikanae of a large proportion of those who formerly defeated them at Te Motunui, they took the Pukerangiora *Pa* on the Waitara, slaughtering a great number of Ngatiawa. This event occurred in December, 1831.

* Thereby acknowledging his right to ask the favour. It is said by some that it was Potatau who addressed the above question to Rauparaha, as he was a *mokopuna*, or perhaps a great nephew of the latter. Both of them being great chiefs, it was allowable thus to permit an adversary to escape.

† Te Atiawa is another name for Ngatiawa, the people who owned the country lying north of the present site of New Plymouth as far as Mokau; it is a convenient term to distinguish them from the Ngatiawa tribe of the Bay of Plenty, with whom, however, they claim kindred.—EDITORS.

After this, Rauparaha left Taranaki and went to Kapiti Island in Cook's Strait, many of the Ngatiawa tribe going with him, notably some of Ngatitama and Ngatimutunga (both divisions of Ngatiawa), with a considerable number of the Onaero people. Amongst them was Te Pehi*, subsequently killed at Kaiapoi, who was partly Ngatikoata and partly Ngatiawa, and also Te Whetu, chief of the Ngatikoata of the Tainui migration. With them also went the Ngatihinetuhi and Ngatirahiri *hapus* under their chiefs Tu-mokemoke, Te-pa-kaiahi, and others. These people settled at Waiorua, on the north end of Kapiti, while Rauparaha lived at Rangatira, on the south end, and it is these people who are said to have fought the battle of Teumu-pakaroa against the combination of Whanganui and all the other tribes, who came in canoes to attack them at night. It is said there were not many more than 200 of them in all, and that apparently whilst on the watch they heard the grating of the Whanganui canoes as they landed on the pebbly beach. Allowing them to land, the Kapiti people laid an ambush in two parties; then suddenly and fiercely attacking, threw their enemies into utter disorder, chasing and killing them all the way down to their canoes, those only escaping who managed to reach the canoes which were afloat. The next day Rauparaha came from Rangatira, where he and Ngatitoa lived, and found only the dead, Whanganui having fled from the island.

This was the first commencement of the migration southward of the great Ngatiawa tribe, which came down from Taranaki in several large parties or *hekes*, many members of which returned northwards, to again leave with successive *hekes* at various intervals. Among these *hekes* may be mentioned that of the *Niho Puta*, composed of the Ngatimutunga tribe, which—women and children not included—numbered *Erua rau e whitu*, i.e., 540 men. This section of Ngatiawa came from the country between Whakarewa and Onaero, north of the Waitara River. The old chiefs of the party were Ngatata (Pomare's† uncle), Te Arahu, Te Poki, and many others, the majority of whom left subsequently for the Chatham Islands. The whole population of the district, however, did not leave at this time; many stayed at Taranaki and came with the subsequent *hekes*. On their way southward Ngatimutunga arrived at Waitotara, where they were received by the Nga-Rauru people with apparent hospitality, and were distributed among the separate houses of the *kainga*. Thus separated, many of them were killed in detail by Nga-Rauru, the rest being unaware of what was going on. During the slaughter one of the Nga-Rauru came into a house where their guests were, and said to his comrades:—"U,

* Te Pehi Kupe was an uncle of Rauparaha's. He visited England in 1826, having made the voyage (in the whaler *Urania*) for the purpose of securing arms. See a portrait of him at page 331 of the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge" for 1830.—EDITORS.

† Pomare of Ngatiawa, not the chief of Ngapuhi of the same name.

ku mate taku niho puta mo taku manuwhiri”—“My long-tooth is killed for my stranger,” intending it to be implied that he had killed a large pig with tusks* as food for his guests, while in reality his words were an intimation to his friend that the massacre had commenced. An old man called Hone Potete who heard this, in telling the story afterwards, said:—“I suspected that there was treachery, and sitting beside my companion, with my big toe-nail, scratched him (*kia whiwa*) to indicate that we should attack our hosts, but he was afraid to do so. They attacked and killed many of us, but the bulk escaped. The tribe afterwards took ample retribution for it.” The *heke* then went on to Waikanae, and on their arrival so strengthened Rauparaha and party that they were able to cross freely to the mainland to dig fern root or cultivate. Prior to that time anyone so doing was sure to be pounced upon and killed by the Mua-upoko, Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and other tribes there living.

The *heke Whirinui* included the people who lived between Waitara and Puketapu, at Taranaki, whose chief was Te Manu Toheroa. It also included the *hapus* Pukerangiora, Manukorihi, Otaraua (Te Tupe-o-tu, the chief) and Puketapu†, besides stragglers from the districts of Onaero and Urenui. It was called *whirinui* because of the large twists or curls put on their *koka* mats by way of ornament.

The *heke Hauhauā* was that of the Ngatitama, who came from Poutama, a place situated about seven miles south of Mokau. Their leaders were Pehitaka, Te Puoho, Taringa-kuri, and others. The *heke* was called *Hauhauā*, in derision, by some of the Ngatitaoa.

The *heke* called *Tama te Uaua* (Son of Muscle), because of the fighting encountered on the way, took place in the winter after the fall of Pukerangiora, which happened in the summer preceding (or in December, 1831), and was caused by the dread of the Waikato tribes after that event. Members of all the great sections of the Atiawa joined in this migration southward, including—1st, Ngatimutunga, the leading chiefs of which were Rangiwhahia and Te Ito from Waitara, and Te Pononga from New Plymouth; 2nd, Ngatitawhirikura, the leading chiefs of which were Tautara, Rauakitua, Te Puni, Ngatata, Te Wharepouri, and others; 3rd, Ngatitama, the leading chiefs of which were Te Tu-o-te-rangi, Te Rangi-katau, and Te Rangi-tamaru. Between all these various *hekes* were several minor ones, as well as many individual goings and returnings.

* Hence the name of this *heke*, *Niho puta*, or “pig with tusks.”

† These *hapus* or sub-tribes are named after their old homes in Taranaki. Pukerangiora is the *pa*, about four miles up the Waitara River, celebrated for the massacre of Ngatiawa by Waikato in 1831. Manukorihi is the large *pa* immediately above the bridge over the Waitara River, at the town of that name. Puketapu is the name of an old *pa* a little south of the mouth of the Waiongona river, and which was still occupied, and well fortified, as lately as 1856.—EDITORS.

The last great Atiawa *heke* was called *Te Heke Paukena*, in which Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, and all his people, with very few exceptions, left Taranaki, as well as the Taranaki tribe proper, whose residence was around Cape Egmont; and it also included Ngatiruanui, or a large section of them. On arriving near Otaki this *heke* came into collision with Te Rauparaha and his people, whom they reduced to such straits that he had to apply for help to Te Heuheu, of Taupo, and to the Waikato and other tribes, great numbers of whom answered his summons, but could not overcome the Atiawa, which tribe stubbornly held its own. Finding this to be the case, peace was finally made between them.

One of themselves, afterwards telling the story, said:—"I was a *hau* at the time, and after encamping at Ohau; I with others went out to gather food (*ao kai*)*. We went to the cultivation and gathered potatoes"—apparently from the *whatas*—"filled our kits and roasted some of them. After our meal we got our burdens on our backs and departed to our camp. On the return, one of our number suddenly recollected that he had forgotten his pipe—it was one of the old fashioned kind and much prized by him—so he left his burden in the forest and returned to seek it. The owners of the cultivation seeing the fires had arrived by this time, and catching sight of the man returning, hid themselves, caught and killed him, leaving his body there, but cutting off his head to offer to the god Maru—*hei whangai hau* ('to feed the wind'). Seeing he did not return, some of our party searched and found the headless body, which they took away. After this, day after day we found odd numbers of our people, twos and threes, killed at short intervals, so that we dared not go out anywhere but in numbers. The Ngatitōa hung up the slain on their *pa* that we might see from afar that they were killed. Then the thought grew 'we are in a strait' (or shall die)—*Ka tipu te whakaaro, ka mate*. Thereupon we consulted together and built a *pa* in the bush near Ohau, which cut Rauparaha off from his cultivations and fern root, so that he was reduced to great straits and besieged in his *pa*. Upon this, Rauparaha sent ten messengers to the Taupo, Waikato, and other tribes to bring them to his assistance 'to kill the Atiawa'—*I tuturia kia patua Te Atiawa*. The Ngatiruanui tribe, which happened to be out getting thatch on the river with their canoes, intercepted and killed these messengers, and their heads were hung up on our *pa* so that they might be seen by Rauparaha and his people." Learning the fate of his messengers he sent others through the back country, who succeeded in reaching Waikato, and brought back the assistance as above detailed. Peace was then made.

The last fight the Ngatiawa had with the Ngatiraukawa (Rau-

* This proceeding of appropriating their neighbours' food was quite legitimate, although not accepted in the same light by the owners, as hereafter described.

paraha's people) was at Te Kuititanga, near the mouth of the Waikanae Stream, where they effectually thrashed the latter. Christianity having then arrived put an 'end to further fighting.

After the arrival of the *heke* of the *Niho Puta* and others, the Ngatimutunga and Ngatitama, with a mixture of other tribes, settled in and around the present site of Wellington, the Ngatitama more especially in the Wairarapa Valley, in close proximity to the Ngatikahungunu tribe. Regarding the Ngatitama, it may be necessary to explain that they inhabited originally, and owned the land from the south bank of the Mokau River inland to Puke-aruhe; the Kekerewai from Mokau to and around Mimi; the Ngatimutunga from near Mimi to the Onaero district. The Kekerewai was a sub-section of the Ngatimutunga, but all these tribes were closely related by blood and marriage connections with one another, and formed part of the great Ngatiawa tribe.

After arriving and taking possession of Port Nicholson (Whanganui-a-Tara) the Ngatitama section moved to Wairarapa, as stated, but previously had assisted Ngatimutunga in treacherously murdering the Ngati-ira, a section of the Ngatikahungunu tribe, who were the former owners of Port Nicholson. The Ngati-ira were destroyed at Waiwhetu,* Te Mahau, Okiwi, Kohanga-te-ra, Orongorongo, and Paraoa-nui.

When the Ngatimutunga and others first arrived in Port Nicholson the Ngati-ira, although taking no active measures to eject them, evidently did not like the state of affairs, but perhaps somewhat undervalued their adversaries, one of them making use of the proverb—"When Poua's jawbone becomes loose, then the land may be taken"—*Kia mahaki ra ano te kauae o Poua ka riro ai te whenua*. Poua it is said was an ancestor, as well as the name of a rock—Te Kauae o Poua—near Te Rimurapa. Both tribes lived in their respective *kaingas* for some time, apparently in friendship, constantly seeing and visiting one another. Meanwhile some of the Ngatitama had made friends with the Ngatikahungunu chiefs Hehe and Takapaua, who joined them in a visit to their friends at Waikanae. Hehe stayed with Kekerengu and his relatives on the way. Te Poki then proposed (he being one of the old men of rank of Ngatimutunga) to massacre the Ngati-ira, otherwise they might, he was afraid, take the initiative, and the Ngatimutunga might suffer. Acting on this proposal, a body of them, with their tomahawks concealed, went to the Ngati-ira *kaingas*, ostensibly on a visit of friendship. The moment having arrived, a Waikato chief of Ngatikoroki named Tauī, who had been adopted as one of the tribe, and had married Patukawenga's sister, Tipi, gave the word "turn the edge" (*huri kiko*), and in an

* There was a Ngatikahungunu *pa* at Waiwhetu, dug up afterwards by the Europeans, on the river side. All the other places named are in and around Port Nicholson.

stant the slaughter of Ngati-ira commenced. After a number of Ngati-ira had been killed, in the places mentioned, the remnant which escaped fled to Tapu-tē-ranga, a little island outside Port Nicholson in Island Bay). Hearing of the massacre, the Ngatitoa of Waikanae fetched them away to their own residence, and here Ngati-ira dwelt for a time in peace, but through an amour of Kekerengu, their chief, with the wife of Mokau, or Rangihaeata, the former and all his people, reading vengeance, took to their canoes and went to Kaikoura, in the South Island. Here they were set upon by Ngaitahu, Ngatikua, and Rangitane, who exterminated them, leaving none to further trouble the Ngatimutunga.

The Ngatitama, as before stated, dwelt at Wairarapa in apparent friendship with the Ngatikahungunu, but Te Poki, who was closely related to Paengahuru, one of the head chiefs of the Ngatitama, with others of the old men, warned the latter to be on his guard. The Ngatitama began to think that the situation was dangerous; they consequently held a meeting of the tribe at Te Tarata—a place near the exit of the Wairarapa Lake into the sea—where they lived, at which it was decided to send Te Pukoro, wife of Paengahuru, and sister of Tupoki, a woman of rank, to Otaki to get the Ngatimutunga, Ngatitama, and other allies to come over and exterminate their Ngatikahungunu neighbours.*

Unfortunately for the success of this plot, an old Ngatikahungunu ripple (Hapimama Kokako) was in the house at the time of the meeting apparently asleep, and who, on discovering the subject under discussion, feigned sleep to the utmost. No one appeared to have noticed or suspected him. So soon as he could do so safely he at once warned his people of the treachery intended, and informed them that a messenger had already gone to fetch the Ngatimutunga and others to kill them. Without delay the Ngatikahungunu tribe—gathered together by special messengers—came to Te Tarata. The Ngatitama, seeing them approach, at first thought they were their own friends, but soon found out their mistake, although they did not appear quite to realise their danger. Some of them proceeded with the women to get food for their guests, a proceeding which may have been merely an attempt on their part to keep up the deception, as they were unaware of their treachery having been discovered. The Ngatikahungunu meanwhile advanced, and had already arranged their plans. Putting two of their best men alongside Paengahuru—the chief of Ngatitama—and doing the same with the other principal men, the massacre commenced. In spite of the terrible odds—Ngatitama being unarmed—Ngatikahungunu had the greatest difficulty in killing Paengahuru,

* It may be added that the Ngatitama were living at the time among the Ngatikahungunu, who were helping the former to build a *pa*, which proceeding caused much doubt to arise in the minds of the Ngatikahungunu regarding the intentions of Ngatitama.

who was a noted warrior, but he was finally dispatched by Okowhare. About ten or more of the best men of Ngatitama escaped, but the majority were killed, a few only being taken prisoner with the women. One noted old warrior—Te Rangikahaunga, afterwards in the Chatham Islands—told the tale how he was in a pool in comparatively deep water getting out food of some kind—possibly steeped *karaka* nuts—when a party with their spears (*tao*) rushed down and attacked him. They tried to run him through, while he, with his bare hands only, kept warding off the points. The scars on his hands obtained in so doing he showed long afterwards. Ultimately he seized and wrenched away a weapon, or part of one, with which he managed to escape, gradually throwing off first one and then another of his enemies. While doing so he heard loud voices saying, “Do not let so and so (of his own tribe) escape,” by which he knew they were still alive, and on their gathering together he found that there were about ten or more of them, and amongst others Te Timore, Meremere, Ngatuna, and Tikaokao.

Paengahuru's wife (Te Pukoro) was frantic with grief at the loss of her husband, and composed a lament (*kaioraora*) which for venom could not well be surpassed. This form of composition, or cursing, always took the form of an expression of the pleasure the composer would feel in roasting and eating the object of dislike, and the intention of acting on its precepts at the first favourable opportunity. The following is the mode in which this lady gave vent to her feelings:—

HE KAIOAORA (NA TE PUKORO).

Kaore te kotaitai o taku waha i te inumanga i te wai roro o Nuku¹ i pupu mai ona riri. Ona taringa whakarongo korero. Haere roroa Tutepakihirangi² ki roto i a Hinewai; tuku tonu iho oku niho ko Kaukau³. Te parara (angaanga) ki a Toru ka kawea hei kohu (dish) hapuku ki te rae ki Te Papa-nui-a-Henga⁴. Te hiwi ki Maungaraki⁵ taku kai ko te Hamaiwaho. Whakatahuri ki tua ki Rangiwhakaoma⁶ taku kai ko Te Po Tangaroa. Mene rukukuku te rau hokowhitu o Te Kiri-kowhatu ki roto i ta' kumete. Ko Te Hika ko tona tini ka koropupu ki roto i taku paata, ko Ngaitahu he whakaporanga reka e—i.

O the saltness of my mouth in drinking the liquid brains of Nuku, whence welled up his wrath. His ears which heard the deliberations. Tutepakihirangi shall go headlong into (the stomach of) Hinewai. My teeth shall devour Kaukau. The assemblage of Toru I will take to feed (bait for) the hapuku on the headland at Te Papa-nui-a-Henga. The ridge of Maungaraki: my food there shall be Te Hamaiwaho. Turning over to the other side to Rangiwhakaoma, my food shall be Te Po Tangaroa. The three hundred and forty of Te Kiri-kowhatu shall be huddled in a heap in my trough. Te Hika and his multitude shall boil in my pot. Ngaitahu (the whole tribe) shall be my sweet morsel to finish with e—i.

Te Pukoro was also in a great measure the cause of a *haka* made to deride the Ngatitama by the Ngatimutunga a short while before

¹ The name of a Ngatikahungunu chief. ² Ditto. ³ Ditto, otherwise called Te Kauamo. ⁴ A fishing-place outside Port Nicholson at Orongorongo. ⁵ Hamaiwaho's residence. ⁶ He whenua, he waka no Kupe. A place where Kupe's canoe is supposed to be represented by a rock.

leaving for the Chatham Islands. It was occasioned by herself and others helping themselves to the *kai* (potatoes, and possibly *kumaras*) of their Ngatimutunga neighbours, at that time living between Pipitea Point and Kaiwharawhara. It recited their evil deeds, and the trouble incurred in other places by their depredations, as follows:—

Te iro mai koe i Whareatea¹ te ngata mai koe i Kaputi.² Rokohanga mai Poneke³ e ata raupapa ana ka puta te kauae-tehe te Awaiti.⁴ Ka ngaro te kai ki te reinga, e.

Were you not punished at Whareatea? were you not satisfied at Kaputi? Port Nicholson was found dwelling peaceably when the woman of the tattooed chin arrived at the Awaiti. The food was (then) lost in the Shades, e.

In explanation of the foregoing, it may be mentioned, as already stated in the account of their *hekes*, that many, after leaving their homes, returned again, as did several of the Ngatitama after the fight of Te Umupakaroa on Kapiti, only to set out again with succeeding migrations when they were numerous enough to hold their own on the mainland against the Southern people. The Ngatitama, or rather a section of them, returned to Hangatahua (Stoney River), where it appears they committed depredations on their neighbours' *kai*, possibly as wanderers having little of their own. This occurred again on Kapiti Island, and lastly in Wellington, at the place named. It is said that this incident was chiefly the cause of the tribe removing to Te Tarata, where they were nearly all killed, as already described.

Immediately the massacre of Ngatitama at Te Tarata became known, Te Kaeaea—or Taringa-kuri—came over to Wairarapa from Kapiti and Waikanae with 140 (*hokowhitu*) of his tribe—the Ngatitoo—as well as the Ngatimutunga from Port Nicholson; in all 340 men. By this time the Ngatikahungunu were entrenched in their *pa* of Pehikatia, but they were attacked with the utmost bravery by Ngatitoo and their allies. The attack was commenced early in the morning, and shortly after noon the *pa* was in the possession of the allies. They killed all they could get hold of, following the fugitives for a long distance, and in so doing overtook and rescued most of the Ngatitama captives taken at Te Tarata. Not one, however, of the chiefs mentioned in Pukoro's *Kaioara* fell into the hands of her tribe; they all escaped at the fall of Pehikatia. Ngatikahungunu, evidently well aware of what they might expect from the incensed and powerful Ngatimutunga so soon as the fall of the *pa* reached the ears of

¹ Near Stoney River, Taranaki. ² Or Entry Island, in Cook's Strait. ³ The Maori pronunciation of Port Nicholson. ⁴ A small stream between Pipitea Point and Kaiwharawhara. In connection with these names, I venture to call attention to the deplorable absence on the maps of so many native names of places in and around Wellington, names with which are connected so many histories and stirring incidents, &c., all of which are rapidly becoming lost through being known to so few people now. If not rescued and recorded before the last of the old men who know them are gone, these names will be lost for ever.

their friends, said :—" Let us get the stars (chiefs) out of sight "—*Mā kowhaki nga whetu*. This they did with effect, but only two chiefs, however, were taken prisoners. One, named Te Ohanga-aitu, was suspended by the heels, his jugular vein pierced, and then each of his captors had a mouthful of his blood, a thumb being placed on the wound till the next man was ready to take his share.

The following is the *Tau*, sung at the attack on Pehikatia to incite the warlike feelings of the people by Pehi-tawhia of Ngatitama :—

Te kotarata i a Hape ra e, ka tuku whakararo te waha o te kupenga, a, ha, ha, Ureia te tangata mate, Ureia te tangata mate, i houhoua ai te ure ki roto i te one-hunga, kei motu te karihi o te tupere, i.

After the storming of Pehikatia, the scattered remnant of Ngatitama returned, and dwelt in Port Nicholson. The Ngatitama always had the reputation of being a very brave and warlike tribe, rendered the more so probably by being the first objective point of war-parties (*tauas*) from their northern neighbours when going to attack either themselves or others living to the south of them at Taranaki. Doubtless this also tended to increase their ferocity and cannibalistic tendencies, as shown in many instances both before and after these occurrences. As far as can at present be ascertained, the approximate date of the massacre of Te Tarata was about 1833. It was but a short time previous to the seizure in Port Nicholson of the brig *Rodney* by the Ngatimutunga in 1835. It was several years prior to the Tarata massacre that a large proportion of the Ngatitama and Ngatimutunga had taken part and assisted in the capture and destruction of Kaiapoi, Onawe—situated at the head of Akaroa Harbour—and other *pas* of the Ngaitahu (Middle Island natives).

At the time of Rauparaha's escape from Ka-pare-te-hau, the lake near Cape Campbell, having lost several of his men (see page 121, vol. VI., John White's *Ancient Maori History*), he came across to Port Nicholson, and got a large body of the Ngatimutunga and Ngatitama, who were settled there at the time, to join him. The combined forces returned across Cook's Strait at once to attack the Ngaitahu. On landing in the darkness at Waiharakeke they were so eager to attack the Ngaitahu that some of the Ngatimutunga—Te Wharepa, Riwai, Taupata, Mohi Ngawaina, and many others now forgotten—together with the people of other tribes, took the wrong tracks in the darkness—luckily for the Ngaitahu—who, finding their enemies there in force, began to wail aloud in prospect of the morrow. The attacking-party heard them distinctly, but were unable to get at them until day dawned. Meanwhile the Ngaitahu managed to get silently away to their canoes, which, apparently, in the darkness had not been perceived by Te Rauparaha's party, and made good their escape, the attacking-party finding only the ashes of their fires early in the morning.

[To be continued.]



EASTER ISLAND.

BY E. TREGEAR, F.R.G.S., F.R.HIST.S.

BEARING in view the great scientific importance of the paper printed in this issue by Dr. Carroll, on "The Easter Island Inscriptions," it may perhaps be well that the most interesting points of our knowledge concerning Easter Island should be brought together and presented to the members of this Society. To some the information may be almost new, and to others a refreshing of the memory and collection of references will not perhaps be considered useless.

Easter Island is situated in lat. $27^{\circ} 15'$ S. and long. $109^{\circ} 39'$ W. It is approximately about 1,800 miles from America, 1,500 miles from nearest Polynesian islands, 4,500 miles from New Zealand, and 2,400 miles from Tahiti. It is about ten miles long by six miles broad at its widest part.

On Easter Day, 1722, Commodore Roggewein, with his small Dutch squadron of three ships, first discovered Easter Island, calling it for this reason Pasch or Paaschen (the French *Ile de Pâques*). Roggewein's vessels were the *Eagle*, of 36 guns and 111 men; the *Tienhoven*, of 28 guns and 100 men; and the *African*, galley, of 14 guns and 60 men. The *African*, being the lightest ship, was ordered towards the island to report, and was soon followed by her consorts. Many thousands of the natives (according to the Dutch record) crowded to the beach, bearing vast quantities of fowls and edible roots. Roggewein landed 150 armed soldiers and seamen, who began pushing their way through the crowd. The inhabitants, tempted doubtless by insatiable curiosity, thronged on the strangers and impeded their way, but the Dutch relieved themselves from the difficulty by firing their muskets among the poor simple creatures, and thus killed a great number. The natives only retaliated by renewed offerings of provisions, and by all, men, women, and children, offering the palm-branch of peace. They also, by the most humble and suppliant postures, entreated the forbearance of these strange and wrathful superhuman creatures (as doubtless they considered them). The Dutch, being appeased by this humility, gave the "Indians" a few presents, in return for which they were offered 500 more fowls, and many potatoes,* sugar-canes, &c.

* Sweet potatoes?

The Dutch saw no animals, but the natives when shown pigs made signs that they had known these animals at some previous time. Earthen pots were used in which to dress food. There was little furniture in any of the houses; red and white coverlets for sleeping purposes were seen. The bodies of the natives were painted over with figures of birds, &c.; the women having a very vivid artificial colouring on their cheeks, a bloom produced by some pigment the origin of which the sailors could not discover. Each house was presided over by the oldest man in the family, and these old men generally wore a bonnet of black and white feathers, the bonnet resembling in shape and appearance the head of a stork. Some, supposed to be priests, had shaven heads and balls of white feathers in their ears. Whenever the islanders were attacked they fled to some huge stone idols for protection. These are the most noticeable points in the narrative of Roggewein's visit.

Thus, in the dawn of South Sea discovery, commenced, in the murder of the islanders by the Dutch, the long series of outrages, which has ended by almost exterminating this innocent and most unhappy people.

The next visit was that made by the Peruvian war-ships *S. Lorenzo* and *Sa Rosalia* in 1770. Captain Don Phelipe Gonzalez, S.N., took possession of the island in the name of H.C.M. Carlos III., and gave it the name of *S. Carlos*. A deed of possession was signed by the chiefs (called by the Spaniards *Caciques*), and the signatures of these chiefs were made in a rudely hieroglyphic style.*

On Friday, 11th March, 1774, Captain Cook first saw Easter Island, or, as he called it, Davis's land, he supposing it to be a certain island mentioned by Davis as discovered by him in that locality in 1686. The island was visited by La Perouse on the 9th of April, 1786. Kotzebue arrived there in 1816; Capt. Beechey, of the *Blossom*, in 1826; followed by whalers; by the Chilian war-ship the *O'Higgins*; by Capt. Powell, in H.M.S. *Topaze* (1868); and by the French man-of-war *Flore*, in 1872, under Admiral Lapelin. A French Mission was early established, under Père Eyraud.

Roggewein described the soil as fertile, but Cook says that it was rather barren, being of dry, hard clay, and covered with stones except towards the south end of the island, where there was a fine red soil and good grass. There was no timber of any value, the principal plant being the *toromiro* (called by Cook *torromedo*), a wood of a reddish colour, hard, heavy, but crooked and small, not exceeding 6 or 7 feet high. There was another shrub with white, brittle wood, and a few specimens of the Tahitian cloth-plant. *Toromiro* is also called *amae*; it resembles the *Edwardsia macrophylla* growing in New

* The signatures, somewhat resembling signs on the wooden tablets hereafter mentioned, are figured in *fac-simile* on page 528 of Trans. Anthropological Socy., Jan., 1874.

Zealand. The natives had plantations of sugar-cane, plantains and potatoes.*

The general account of the appearance of the natives is that they were a people of fairly tall stature (about 5ft. 7½in.), but there were no exceptionally large men among them compared with the ruling families in other Polynesian islands. They were of a light bronze colour, as of Spaniards; alert, vigorous, of gentle manners, and almost timid. Captain Beechey calls them a "beautiful race—the women especially beautiful." He speaks of "their fine oval faces, regular features, high foreheads, black eyes, and small rows of teeth," and notes their resemblance to the Maori of New Zealand. Their noses were aquiline. The men let their black beards grow thickly. The women wore their hair long. The ear-lobes were enormously enlarged, the lower part touching the shoulder. The holes in the ear-lobes were kept in full distension by some elastic substance coiled as a spring.

Some of the women were very little marked by tattooing, preferring an adornment of red and white paint. Two of the men seen by Beechey were painted entirely black. The men were tattooed in curved lines of dark blue, the face being almost covered with lines except in two broad stripes at right angles to each other, the lines being drawn from the ear, and sloping round under the jaw; the lips were also stained. The body was covered with tattooing continued down to the feet, this being executed with much taste. Many of the women were tattooed from waist to knee, so as to appear as if clothed in breeches; some were also tattooed on forehead, on edge of ears, and on fleshy part of lips.

The clothing of the natives consisted invariably of the *maro*, the Polynesian girdle or breech-cloth; but this was supplemented in some cases by garments of native cloth. The women wore two pieces of *tapa*, each about 6ft. by 4ft. One of these was wrapped about the loins, the other round the shoulders. These garments were made from the beaten bark of the paper-mulberry (used for the same purpose in Tahiti); but it became very scarce. In Beechey's time some of the men were naked, and a pretty girl swam off to the ship wearing only a small triangular *maro* of grass or rushes. They were clever at making nets, and at plaiting. The coverlets used as sleeping wrappers were also of *tapa*. The paper-mulberry was here a stunted plant about 3ft. high, never growing above the height of the shelter-wall.

Their houses were very poor structures made of sticks stuck in the ground about 6ft. or 8ft apart, and bent over at the top in the form of an arch. The longest sticks were in the middle, so that the house was smaller at each end than in the middle, and appeared "hog-backed." A doorway, so small that a person entering had to crawl on all fours,

* Sweet potatoes?

was placed in the middle of one side. The largest houses noticed by Cook were about 60ft. long, but Beechey saw one 310ft. in length, 10ft. in breadth, and 10ft. high in the middle. Its shape was that of an inverted canoe, and it was entered by two doors only 2ft. high.

Cook heard that there were stone houses on the island, but did not see them. At the south-west end of the island is a collection of ruins of nearly a hundred stone houses* built in regular lines and facing the sea. They are generally about 40ft. long by 13ft. wide, roofed over with slabs overlapping like tiles. The walls are 5ft. thick, about 5ft. high, and consist of layers of flat stones faced inside with flat slabs. The inside walls are painted in black, white, and red, with figures of mythical beasts and birds, and with geometrical figures. The stone houses were called *Taura Renga*. In one of these houses was found a stone statue about 8ft. high, and weighing four tons, now in the Cnidus shed at the British Museum. On the back of the head of the statue is carved a bird, over which is a solar crown, and on either side a *rapa* (a steering paddle or club) with a human face on the spade-shaped blade.

On some of the walls of the cliffs are carved huge faces,† and on each headland of the island stand enormous stone statues. On one platform fifteen images were found, ranging from 3ft. to 35ft. in height. They are of human shape as to the upper part of the figure and have crowns of a different kind of stone (red tufa) to the rest of the figures, which are made of grey lava. So celebrated are these statues that I will not attempt to more particularly describe them,‡ but will leave those interested to seek details in the references at end of this article. The platforms are built of sea-worn stones bedded in guano, the rocks composing the outer faces being hewn and fitted with the greatest nicety, without cement, mortised and tenoned together. They are built on sloping ground, presenting a seaward face of 20ft. or 30ft. high and from 200ft. to 300ft. long; on the landward side a wall of about 3ft. high rises from a levelled terrace.

The working tools were made of stone, which appeared to have superseded other tools of bone and shell, but the islanders displayed a singular indifference to iron, sought for generally with avidity by other Polynesians. The canoes were few, and were very poor structures; to be accounted for by the lack of large timber on the island. Narrow strips of wood were carefully sewn together with small cord to form vessels about 18ft. or 20ft. long. They were very narrow, with carved bows and sterns somewhat elevated, were fitted with outriggers, and capable of carrying about four persons in each canoe.

* See the photograph in Mr. C. Harrison's "Ethnographical Series," published by Mansell.

† See frontispiece to Rev. Dr. Gill's "Jottings from the Pacific."

‡ See "Cook's Voyages"; also "Revue Maritime et Coloniale de 1872"; also Dumont d'Urville's "Voyage Pittoresque."

The natives dressed their food in pottery vessels, but also used the ordinary Polynesian steaming-oven—a hole being dug in the ground, was heated by fire among hot stones, on which water was poured, and then the whole covered in. The fuel consisted of tops of sugar-canes, plantain-heads, &c. The only utensils were gourds, and the natives prized exceedingly any cocoanut-shells they were able to procure from their European visitors.

It is probable that the palm trees and woods seen by Roggwein perished from want of water, as none of these were observed by Cook half a century later. So also doubtless the animals had perished, for although none were seen by Roggwein, he perceived the figures of hogs tattooed on the arms and breasts of the men. One very remarkable fact is well attested by several visitors—that is, that the natives were in the habit of drinking salt water instead of fresh.

The customs of the people have not been observed and described so minutely as those of other Pacific islands. The women were by no means of a virtuous character, they seem to have understood little of modesty, and are stated by one narrator to have had sexual intercourse in a promiscuous manner. Something of this perhaps may be allowed for by remembering the time of license provoked by the excitement attending the visit of Europeans. A feast was the only marriage ceremony; marriage between relations was unknown. The early marriages of the girls (generally at about ten years old) probably accounts greatly for the decline of the race. The girls were usually sequestered from the rest of the family until married. Wives (according to Polynesian custom) ate apart from their husbands.

Human flesh was eaten, but only that of captives; the bones after being divested of flesh were taken to Utuitu.

The natives fought among themselves with stones and with clubs; they also used a spear made of the crooked stem of the *toromiro*; this spear was headed with a flake of flint or obsidian. Some of the clubs were shaped like the *mere* or flat battledore weapon of the New Zealander. They fought at close quarters, and the vanquished became slaves to the victors; the lands being the property of the families dwelling on them. The chiefs carried staffs or batons of wood having double or bi-fronted faces upon them. Crescent-shaped shields having human faces on the cusps were also carried, but it is believed were only used in dances.

They had but one king at a time, and the monarch abdicated on the marriage of his son, who was not allowed to marry early. The king was regarded as a divine being, his person was sacred, his hair was never cut, and no one was allowed to touch him. He had absolute power over the lives and property of his subjects, who paid him tribute of labour and presents of food. His viceroy or lieutenant was a military chief elected annually.

Their religious belief is difficult to define, but they had gods of War, Love, Theft, Harvest, &c. They also had small wooden images in which the ribs, vertebræ, &c., are very prominent (these are called "squelettes" by La Perouse); the images have strongly marked Semitic features, with a tuft on the chin and short legs, but although they have the extended ear-lobes of the huge statues, they are ugly,* and the faces have none of the solemn repose of the mighty features sculptured in the great carvings. One of these may be seen in the Ethnological Room of the British Museum, and it apparently represents a person with shaven head, probably one of the priests noticed by early voyagers. The islanders are said by Gonzalez not to have used fire except for purposes of religion or superstition—this fire was kept underground. The use of fire for cooking was, however, general.

They have two traditions of origin. One is that their ancestors arrived from Oparo (now called Rapa) under a king who built the statues. The other is that two large vessels, high at prow and stern, arrived under command of King Tocuyo† with four hundred men and women. The land was divided among his followers.

The following genealogies are given :—

KINGS.—[BY DR. LESSON.]

Hotu-motua	10 Kahui-tuhuka	Havi-nikiro
Tu-ma-heke	Te tuhuka roa	20 Te Ravarava
Miru-otu-ma heke	Marakapau	Te Rehai
Lata-miru	Ahurihao	Koroharua
5 Miru-ohata	Nui te patu	Te Rika atea
Mitiake	15 Hirakau-tehito	Kai-makoi
Ataraka-a-Miru	Tupu-i-te-Toki	25 Tehetu Karakura
Atuu-Reraka	Kura-ta-toki	Huero
Uraki-Kekana	Hiti-rua-anea	Kaimakoi

QUEENS ?—[BY DR. LESSON.]

1 Hotu
Inumeke
Vakai
Maramaroa
5 Mitiake
Inukura
Mira
Oturaka
Inuiku
10 Iku Kanae
Tuku ia ia
Au moa mana
Tupai riki
Mataipi
15 Terakai
Raimokaki
Kopara
18 Tepito

KINGS.—[BY CAPT. GANA, CHILIAN NAVY.]

Inumike
Vakai
Marama
Roa
5 Mitiake
Utuiti
Inukura
Mira
Oturaga
10 Inu
Iku
Iku-Kanae
Ineujaja
Tuku-itu
15 Au moa mana
Tupu-iriki
Mataibi
Te Rakey
Raimokaki
20 Gobara
Te Pito
22 Gregorio (a child, since dead)

* For engraving see Journal of Anthropological Society, vol. II., p. 191.

† Tuku-iho ?

If we allow 20 years for a generation (the people married young) the longest of these genealogies only allows us about five centuries. This appears to bear out the legend that the Easter Islanders were immigrants, and not the aboriginal inhabitants, as the pedigrees probably represent their generations on the island.

The tradition that the islanders came from Rapa-iti is curious, as that island contains also huge platforms and a five-tiered fort of solid stone. Figures resembling the smaller statues of Easter Island were found by Moerenhout on the little island of Raivavai, and also at Pitcairn, Tupuai, and other places. They were called Tii one and Tii papa,* "guardians of earth and rock," that is, Termini. Against the legend of the islanders having come from Rapa (2,200 miles to the west of Easter Island) is the fact that the inhabitants of Rapa speak a dialect of the Society Islanders, while the tongue of the natives of Easter Island is the Maori of New Zealand. The physical likeness of the Easter Islander to the Maori was also remarked by several voyagers. M. Topinard ("Revue d'Anthropologie," p. 371) says that the skulls of the Easter Islanders are distinctly Polynesian. Cook gives the native names of the island as *Tamareki*, *Whyhu*, and *Teapij*; Beechy says it is *Waihu*; and Lesson that it is *Matakiteragi*.

The most valuable productions of Easter Island are the celebrated tablets of wood, carved with figures until the present day undeciphered. The tablets are of hard wood, about fourteen inches by five inches, and about an inch thick. The wood is apparently the *toromiro* of Easter Island. The signs are incised or sunk in the wood and the lines of writing are alternately reversed—the engraving accompanying Dr. Carroll's paper herewith being exceptional.† Two of these tablets were taken by the captain of a Chilian corvette and lodged in the National Museum at Santiago de Chili in 1870, one was taken by the mate of a ship to San Francisco, and three others are in Tahiti. The engraving accompanying Dr. Carroll's paper is from one of the Santiago tablets.

The number of inhabitants was estimated by Gonzalez as 3,000, by La Perouse as 2,000, by Cook as about 700, of whom two-thirds were males. It is probable that Cook's estimate was much under the real number, as the population diminished fast, and yet M. Eyraud found them as 1,800 people in 1863. In 1868 there were 930, and in 1870 only 600. The island was visited again and again by raiders, who carried off the inhabitants. Most of these kidnapping expeditions were made by Chilian or Peruvian vessels for the supply of workers at the guano islands. As an instance of the cruelty displayed I may cite the case of the American vessel *Nancy*, of New

* Tiki-one and Tiki-papa.—E. T.

† See photographs of tablets Trans. Anthropological Society, Jan. 1874, p. 370.

London, which, in 1805, carried off many of the Easter Islanders, intending to land them on the uninhabited island of Massafuero, west of Juan Fernandez, in the hope of forming a sealing colony. After a bloody engagement the freebooters secured twelve men and ten women, whom they kept in irons for the first three days, until out of sight of land. When the men were released they all jumped overboard, and the women tried to follow. The captain laid the ship to, and tried to pursue his victims in the boats. When the boats reached the swimmers the poor hunted creatures kept diving until all were drowned.

A few years ago the island was bought by the celebrated trading firm the "Maison Brander," of Tahiti, as a sheep-run, and occupied by their agent, Mr. Alexander Salmon. It carries about ten thousand sheep, and four hundred head of cattle, which thrive well. The flocks increase rapidly, as there are two, and sometimes three lambing seasons in the year. About eighteen tons of wool per annum are shipped. The great want is, of course, the scarcity of water. The Maison Brander deported about three hundred of the natives to the Gambier Islands, and about five hundred to Tahiti; only about one hundred and fifty are left, and they are decreasing fast. Last year the Chilian flag was again hoisted on Easter Island.

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THE EASTER ISLAND INSCRIPTIONS, AND THE TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THEM.

BY A. CARROLL, M.A., M.D.

EASTER ISLAND, when visited by Captain Cook, and navigators subsequently, was found to be inhabited by Polynesians in language and appearance, much like those in the Pau-motu, the Society, and other neighbouring groups. The traditions of these Easter Islanders said "that they had come from Rapa-iti, now called Oparo, to Rapa-nui," called by the English Easter Island. There were large statues, platforms or terraces of carefully constructed masonry, over vaults, houses of stone, and other structures in ruins, which indicated to those conversant with the antiquities of the Polynesians, and with the archæology of other races, that some other people had lived upon this island as well as the Polynesians, but who or what they were, where they came from, or how long ago, remained a mystery, after all the various guessings by the travellers from many lands who had seen and examined the antiquities of this island. I found in the museums of England, America, France, Germany, and elsewhere, wooden tablets and other things, with inscribed characters upon them, that had been dug up or procured in Easter Island by the islanders, or by explorers who had been there. While trying to procure information from the curators, or others who had these inscriptions under their charge, as to what they meant, or what they related to, I was informed that, although attempts had been made to interpret them, none had succeeded in doing so, although many guesses had been made as to the purport of these inscriptions. Some said they were "picture writings," others that they were "hieroglyphic records," others that they were "phonetic characters of the Polynesians;" others said they were "symbolic genealogies, or lists of ancestors conventionalised." One gentleman, in giving his version of what they meant, at a meeting of the Anthropological Society, described them as "heronias." Then it was said that the natives recently upon the island could read and interpret them, but this proved upon strict examination to be erroneous, as they could not, and only gave their own fanciful names to, and views of, these

antiquities when the officers of expeditions there endeavoured to get the truth thereof from them.

Having for many years endeavoured to procure as many copies of these inscriptions as possible, and all the information in Europe or America that was available upon them, I have succeeded in securing some of these inscriptions, and all that had any bearing thereon that was in existence. While engaged in studying the languages, histories, antiquities, and inscriptions of ancient American peoples, I came upon similarities to the Easter Island characters, &c.; with these, as keys, discovered what certain groups expressed, and from these, proceeding upon the recognised methods of decipherment, succeeded in reading into the original languages, and from these, translating into English, these Easter Island inscriptions. In ancient America, from the northern "Lenipe" to the nations in "Anahuac," from these through Central America, and thence onward to what is now Peru, to Bolivia, and to Chili, many of these peoples used hieroglyphic, phonetic, and other writings before the Inca monarchs interdicted their use, and endeavoured to blot them out of existence, so as to secure their conquests, and make the conquered forget their earlier histories and mythologies, and the writings in which they were inscribed. Many of these old peoples of Western America sailed and traded over wide regions of the Pacific Ocean, long before Europeans went there. One of such places to which they sailed was Easter Island, then much larger than it is at present. But as this will be more fully set out on another occasion, we refrain from further pursuing this subject here. Having been requested to contribute one or two of the interpretations of the Easter Island inscriptions to the periodical of the Polynesian Society, I have much pleasure in doing so. Those I offer are from a copy of the inscriptions kindly forwarded to me by S. Percy Smith, Esq., one of the chief officers and promoters of the Polynesian Society, whose earnest labours for Polynesian linguistics, ethnology, &c., have so distinguished him, and have caused him to assist the researches of others engaged in similar studies. (See accompanying Plate.) The copy I obtained from this gentleman is so clear that it is much more easy to read than others, in which some of the characters are obscure, or obliterated by faulty preservation or constant use; but the inscriptions I send, being merely invocations to their ancestral spirits or deities, are less historically valuable than others hereafter to be published, but which will require somewhat lengthened commentaries to make them understood by those not well up in the national lore to which they pertain. The texts of the languages, with a lexicon and grammar of these, will also be presented, as there are in these inscriptions words and phrases from the Toltecan, Queché, Aztecan, Tschimu, Carañ, Quito, Bacatan, Quichua, Muisca, Collan, and others. Some of these are only borrowed words, but others by their altered case-endings, suffixed genders,

and different grammatical structure, give evidence that a mixture of peoples, as voyagers and residents, took place among those who came to Easter Island in the olden times, more than five hundred years ago. But these and other such details must wait for future opportunities, and I now proceed to give the interpretations of some of these inscriptions from Easter Island, keeping as near to the original texts as possible, thus accounting for the peculiar phraseology.

The underwritten is a translation close to the original text of a prayer for general health and increase of crops, by the priests and a priestess, or wife of the chief, joining in this petition to the ancestral spirits :—

“To those who are our Guardians, oh give ear to us in your temple. You are our protectors. You are the good spirits of our ancestors. I, and we, know you as the Chiefs who are the powerful protectors to these sons of the Sun-chiefs. Ye gods of strength increase their strength, they implore ye as the Masters, wearers of the royal ornament, as the Guardian deities. Yours it is to give ear, and hear. The Sun-chief's bird that calls every hour, the Sun-chief and the Sun-chief's wife, to whom the royal band was bestowed. This good bird of the Sun-chief's is our messenger to the ancestors. Hear all messages to the end, oh excellent Masters, from these, the sons of the ancestors. Oh! our protectors, the Sons of the field, the good Ancestors who are worshipped, your bones are in the house of stone. You protectors of the house, of the clan, and of the families of us. At this terrace is the wife—at this terrace of the Turtle, where the good Sun is enthroned, and the Ancestors are gathered, and their sons with them, and where the Lightning comes. Give us increase. From the cave vaults let it be Officers of us all you are. The representative images of the good Vira of the sea, of the good Sun, of the sacred and good Turtle, let them all give ear to these requests. The Masters in their houses, in the Sun, and of the springs. You are the Inspectors, the Judges. Good Spirits of the groves, the strong son by Viro of the Cave; the Wise one, the Watcher, the bird of the Sun; oh! happy Star of the year; ye guardian deities, near your sacred stone-pillars, in the sepulchral labyrinths; strong Controller of the day; the chief son of his mother; the Sun-year it is. Master of the termination of the cycle; in the sacred Sun-temple there is a good descendant of our dead ancestors, and they who are their sons, and the wives of the Sun-chiefs. The Supreme power; the sacred Fire, so good; the labyrinthine caves of the dead ancestors, and the twin children of the Sun, give ear to us through the fleet messengers. Wife of the Master Defender, at this Turtle terrace grant us this to be a good year, for thy sons we are. Thou art Chief, and the Supreme.”

The next that we give is the prayer of a woman, a chief's wife, offered through the priests, who are interceding for her to the ancestral spirits that she may have a son.

“By the Sun-controller, the circle on the good rock near the centre, and its throne of the gnomon; by the mothers of the sacred ancestors; by the sacred women who were of these ancestors; by the family and the clan in their sacred temple; by the protectors thereof and the Masters; by the oracle, the sepulchres of the good temple; by the love for the ancestors we have, and for sacred things, we, the sons of these ancestors, wearing the ornament of royal and sacred feathers. Give increase to this woman; permit her to have a son of her own blood, thus to increase in her a love towards you. By this good towards her you will be good to us all, and do good to all of us. By this Sepulchre of the Turtle, which so good is; by this Turtle terrace to its extreme end, where is deposited the royal and sacred ornament; by the Sepulchre of the Protecting Spirits, for good are they, at the centre. For this son prayed for shall be dedicated and placed on this terrace a sacred stone among the guardian spirits for this son, who shall represent the

strong god, who was a son of these ancestors, who are now good spirits, from the Virgins who are Sacred. He is represented upon this terrace, the chief of the happy spirits of the ancestors, and his wife, good are they, and they are good as the protectors of cultivations. Their bodies were dead, and preserved in this terrace of the Turtle; their spirits are in the Sun. A son by this their daughter I, and we, entreat of these sons of the ancestors who, in the golden fields, are joyful and happy. By their sepulchres we implore for this son, and hope for him from the Masters, the deities of the households, and of the food, and of Vira of the sea, and of Vira worshipped among the ancestors, and of those good ones of earth, and of the rocks, and the Master of Gold, and the chief of them, and by him of the good gnomon, the Sun of the terraces, the Master to them and theirs, this woman now by this terrace, appeals and prays."

The next underwritten is a prayer by the priests and a priestess upon the day fixed by them for the Sun's rest, or solstice, for the success and harvesting during the planting season, and for full crops, to the deities.

"Prepare we, and offer of the good maize drink, by the good priests of the Sun, at the Sun's throne, through the Ministers, to the ruler, and also to the Rainbow, as children of the Sun, at the Sun's circle and temple. The daughters and sons of Vira of the Sea offer to the sacred spirits this offering from them, and of the good mothers of Tulan. To the Sun, the *oca* food; and to their Ancestors' bones, on this day when the Sun is bound, when the Sun seizes and consumes, the sacrifice. His sons to him present, through the deities of the household, and the sons of the Wise ones, gods of the Sun's seat (the gnomon) and the gods of the household, the Good and Wise ones. By his sons, hear the woman's prayer, all ye good Teachers assist the loving woman at the sepulchre of the people of Tulan, in which is their dead; in this extremity of love therein, this woman places her trust. At the good Sun's seat are our teachers, and this Chief Mother of the Vestals, give ear to us, oh sacred Protectors. By this terrace of the protecting spirits, the sons of the strong God are here, he is the chief of the sons of the sacred Sun. We seize upon this good one, from his litter of clouds, to his temple bring the *oca* root food, and the remains of the children of the Sun, of the extremest good are they, the Protecting spirits, with good Llam-pallec, and the Sun, and his sons, they and the Guardians, this prayer to them all, their sons we are, oh good Sun, and the Guardians and Protectors of this clan. Their Sun, and the Star of Tulan, in the temple of their forefathers, who are overlooking them, with the sacred crystals, these Sun-fathers and their good wives, at our and their sepulchre, the chief hope is by their son and by the Virgins. By the Officers, the Sun was fixed, he increased over the clouds happily. Give ear then and hear, oh ye Sun-spirits, ye Guardians, and ye good daughters, and their Mother of the temple, the greatest of our hopes, a supply of *oca* root. This joyous day the good priests *have brought the Sun to his rest*. Let these sons of thine, the fleet messengers, the Eagle of the Andes, and the grand Vulture, from whose wings the feathers are taken that adorn the heads of the Sun-chiefs, and are in the head-bands of the chiefs of Tulan, and the dead children of the Sun are adorned with them. Then let them, our prayers, and this woman's, hear.

With the foregoing three translations we close the present communication, thinking these will occupy as much of the space in this issue of the periodical as will be available. On a future occasion, if it is desired, we may furnish others of these most interesting inscriptions that embrace most valuable information not otherwise preserved. The Society's periodical will thus be the first to publish the recovered knowledge of what these inscriptions were about, or contained, and make known that another ancient writing is deciphered.



UEA; OR, WALLIS ISLAND AND ITS PEOPLE.

WESTERN PACIFIC.

S. PERCY SMITH.

IN the belief that any reliable information about the people of Oceania will be welcome to the members of the Polynesian Society, the following notes have been compiled from a French work* published a few years ago, and which is the only one so far, that describes the people of Uea from the point of view of one who resided amongst them for many years.

Bishop Bataillon had not in view a complete description of the habits and customs of the people in penning his notes. The information which is to be found in the work quoted is therefore, as it were, only to be gleaned by the way, and in illustration of the work he had in hand—namely, the conversion of the natives. Such as they are, however, they are valuable as describing a state of life which has now passed away.

Uea, or, as the French call it, Uvea, is situated in latitude $13^{\circ} 18'$ south, longitude $176^{\circ} 15'$ west, 125 miles north-easterly from Futuna, and 235 miles westerly from Savaii, of the Samoa Group. The main island is about ten miles in length north and south, and about six miles in width. It appears to be divided into three principal districts called Hihifo on the north, Hahake towards the south, and Mua at the extreme south. These names remind us of the Tonga Group, where the first means the west or sunset, the second the east or sunrise, and the last "the front," and all of them are applied as names of districts in Tonga-tapu.

Uea is surrounded by a ring of coral distant about a league from the shore, which is interrupted here and there by passages, affording egress to canoes, whilst the southern pass, called Honikulu, admits

* "Mgr. Bataillon," by the Rev. P. Mangerat, two vols, 18mo., V. Le Coffre, 90, Rue Bonaparte, Paris, 1884.

vessels of considerable size. On this reef are situated several islets, of which the following are the names: Nuku-atea (the only one permanently inhabited), Nuku-fatu, Nuku-loa, Nuku-teatea, Nuku-tapu, Lua-neva, Fungalei, Nuku-i-fala, Nuku-fetau, Faioa, Nuku-oyo, and Fenua-po, situated close to the Honikulu passage. "Gigantic trees, green fields, and numerous streams give a charm to the island beyond that of most of the islands of the South Seas."

Wallis Island was first made known to the civilised world by Captain Wallis, who together with Captain Carteret made a voyage round the world in 1767.

We are in the habit of saying that such and such an island was discovered by such and such an eminent navigator of one of the European nations, quite ignoring the fact that all inhabited islands must have been discovered by navigators of the native races often many generations before the Europeans had first entered the Pacific. This, of course, was the case with Uea; but who its first discoverer was we do not know. The first and earliest mention of the island is contained in the notes of Rarotongan history published in the first number of this *Journal*, where it is included in the long list of islands *conquered* by Tai-te-Ariki. Having been *conquered* by him, it is obvious that the island was inhabited in his time. In order to arrive at an approximate date for this event we must count the generations downwards to the present day from Tai-te-Ariki, and it will then be found that, according to the Pa family pedigree, there were twenty generations from the conquest of Uea to the settlement of Rarotonga, and from the latter event to the present day there are twenty-five generations, making forty-five in all, or, allowing twenty years to a generation, nine hundred years. We may therefore say that it was about the year A.D. 900 that the island was conquered. Obviously this date depends on slender evidence; several more genealogies are required to compare with the first before any great reliance can be placed on it. It is tolerably certain, however, that the island was known to Pa's ancestors before the arrival of that migration at Samoa and the Tahiti Group, which must be placed at a date certainly previous to 1350, and probably long before that.

Those great navigators, the Tongans, had also visited the island before its discovery by Europeans, as is proved by finding the name of Uea included in a long list of islands given to Captain Cook in 1777, as those with which the Tongans were acquainted, and which they were in the habit of visiting. The distance separating Uea from Tonga is about 550 miles, a distance which these hardy navigators would think little of traversing, as is proved by the statement of Mr. C. M. Woodford in

his "Naturalist amongst the Head Hunters" (Solomon Islands), in which he shows that the Tongans were formerly in the habit of extending their voyages to the Santa Cruz Group, a distance of over 1,800 miles.

Uea Island was also known to the Tahitians before Cook's time, for it is shown on the celebrated chart of Tupaea, drawn up by Cook and Foster, from information supplied by Tupaea. Most of the islands shown on the chart are said to have been visited by either Tupaea or his father. The island is fairly correct as to its position with regard to Samoa and Fiji, thus demonstrating that the Tahitians had correct ideas as to the localities of most of the islands of the Central Pacific, long before they received any outside enlightenment on the subject from European voyagers.

When the Catholic Mission first landed on Uea in 1837—under the guidance of the well-known Bishop Pompallier—they found a number of Tongans residing there, who had arrived from Vavao in the Tonga Group in 1836, with the intention of converting the inhabitants to Protestantism. These people came fully armed, and war with the people of Uea soon followed. The Tongans entrenched themselves in a fort, and sustained a siege by the whole of the Ueans. Ultimately, overcome by famine, they surrendered at discretion, and were nearly all killed, except the women and children.

The Ueans "only knew of some of the neighbouring islands, but they had exercises of memory to accustom the children to repeat the names of these islands so rarely visited." Unfortunately Père Mangeret does not supply us with these names, which would be so interesting as illustrating the geographical knowledge of the people. There can, however, be little doubt that their acquaintance with the adventurous Tongans was of ancient date, and that the visits of the latter were somewhat frequent; the Tongans even assert that at one time they were masters of Uea; this is possible, but it has not been proved. It is certain, however, that the Tongans first acquainted the Ueans with the arrival of foreign vessels in those seas, the crews of which they called Papalangi, the name by which Europeans are still known in Tonga, Samoa, &c. There is nothing improbable in the conquest of Uea by the Tongans, for we know that at one time they were masters of a considerable part of Samoa, and were also in the habit of making warlike excursions to Fiji, and there joining in the wars between the various islands of that group.

It is well known that there is another island in the Pacific named Uea, or Halgan, situated in the Loyalty Group. This island was originally peopled by Melanesians, but some generations ago a canoe

(or canoes) drifted out of its course from Wallis Island, and after a thousand miles of navigation landed on Halgan, where the crew settled down, and named the island after their old home. There is no information to hand as to how many generations ago this event occurred, but it would be interesting to ascertain the fact, together with the history of the Ueans since landing in their new home.

The traditions preserved by the old men enumerate only fourteen generations of kings, nearly all of whom died violent deaths. In this particular they seem to differ a good deal from other Pacific islanders, who generally possess long genealogies of their chiefs, often going back over a hundred generations. This statement, however, as to the lack of traditional knowledge of their ancestors, requires confirmation; so wide a divergence from Polynesian custom is difficult to believe.

The population of the island was formerly very much greater than at present, according to their traditions. The people say that an order issued by the king could at one time be transmitted from house to house all round the island. War has been the chief cause of this decrease, followed by cannibalism, which appears to have been introduced at a comparatively late period in their history.

Like most of the Polynesian islanders they accounted for the existence of their island by its being fished up from the depths of the sea. This feat, almost universally ascribed to Maui, was at Uea performed by Tangaloa, a belief which the people share with the Tongans, whose islands were also drawn up by him, and whose fish-hook used on the memorable occasion was—says Mariner—in the possession of the Tui-Tonga until a few generations ago, when it was accidentally burnt. The introduction of the name of Tangaloa in place of Maui into this myth shows the influence of Tongan communications on the history of Uea, a connection which is also supported by the language, which is more like that of Tonga than any other, if we may judge from the dictionary of the language written by Père A. C.*

The following is the brief note of this tradition given by Père Mangeret:—"It was by aid of the net, according to the Uveans, that their island was given to them, as well as the ring of coral which surrounds it. This is the legend:—One day Tangaloa was casting his net. It was the island of Uvea which was caught and brought to the

* "Dictionnaire Latin-Uvea," by Le P. A. C., Paris, 1886. Unfortunately for Polynesian students this dictionary is Latin-Uvea, not Uvea-Latin; its use from a philological point of view is thereby greatly impaired, and it cannot be compared with the Futunian dictionary of Père Grezél for its scientific usefulness. The letters of the Uea alphabet are—a, e, i, o, u, f, ng, k, l, m, n, p, s, t, v.

surface. Satisfied with his marvellous capture, the god—to conserve the memory of his feat—left his line surrounding the isle, and has willed that the beautiful ring of coral, which all the world admires, should represent it.”

THE PEOPLE.

“The Ueans belong to the Polynesian race. Their colour is not darker than that of the inhabitants of the south of France. The men are fine looking under all aspects, with an expressive physiognomy, admirable proportions, and with gestures full of grace and dignity. Their heads are shaded by a thick chevelure of black hair, which floats in the wind like a mane, sticking out six or eight inches from their heads, which causes them to look as if they had on wigs of the time of Louis XIV. The men wear their hair long, the women short, and it is often coloured red by lime. The Uean custom (or Faka-uea) was, that the women never worked in the cultivations; they remained squatting in their houses making mats, beating *tapa*, or sleeping. They nevertheless used to go out fishing on the reef, and prepared the food for the family. All are tattooed; the men usually from above the hips to just below the knees (like the Samoans), whilst the women have a few fancy lines on the hands and arms. In the men it is always a mark of dignity, and sometimes the recompense of valour; in the women simply an ornament.” The operation is performed precisely in the same manner as in the other islands, and whilst this is the same for all, the designs frequently offer much variety in detail. The clothing was made of *tapa*, or of mats. The *tapa* is called *siapo*, and is made of the bark of a tree.

Captain Morvan—a visitor to Uea frequently quoted by Père Mangeret—describes the dwellings of the people as follows:—“I saw under the trees about forty pretty houses, open to the day, floored and carpeted in the interior with mats white as snow. Some are round like beehives, others polygonal, and all are well made. The roofs of most of them are like an open parasol: they come down to within a few feet of the ground, and are upheld all round by bamboo posts fixed in the ground, which are tied together at about the height of a foot from the ground by trellaces artistically worked, made of reeds, lianas, and flexible wood. They are all windows and doors these delightful houses: at night only are they closed with mats made for the purpose. One goes out and comes in where one likes, always, however, stooping, for the roof is not 3 feet above the ground. These delicious houses are delightfully clean in the interior.”

“For furniture they have mats, which are rolled and unrolled at will: these form the beds and the seats. On the post which supports

the roof, and on the transverse beams, are suspended pieces of *tapa* and fine mats, in fact, all the treasures of the family. Their valuables consist of arms, certain instruments of work, calabashes (to contain liquids) enclosed in nets, cocoanuts polished and cut in halves to serve as drinking vessels, and also entire nuts, which serve as pitchers: these are placed in beds of dried herbs. Their pillows are formed of concave planks resting on feet."

The food of the people consists of yams, bananas, and taros, and are all cooked on the stones, and eaten without other seasoning than the juice of the cocoanut. Sometimes fish, prepared in the same manner, is added to their bill of fare.

GOVERNMENT.

"At Wallis Island there was a King, who reigned, and a first Minister, who governed; the latter under the name of the *Kivalu*. Two great families divided between them the government of the isle. The sovereignty and the charge or function of *Kivalu* are both hereditary; not, however, in the direct, but in the collateral line, to the first degree—that is to say, the brothers are called to the succession, and when the King or the Minister deceased have no brothers, then the succession goes to the elder son. When the King dies an immense *kava* is arranged by the *Kivalu*, and all the dignitaries of the island are convoked. So soon as all have taken their places according to their rank, their birth, or their dignity, the *Kivalu* calls him who he chooses for King, and causes him to occupy the highest place in the assembly, and presents him with a *kava* root. It is thus that the new King is enthroned, and he enters immediately on his functions, presiding during the rest of the ceremony. The succession to the office of Minister should also follow in order of birth, but nevertheless, in the public interests, this order is sometimes deviated from. The King enjoys all the powers of a great prince. He has the power of life or death over his subjects, and the right of ownership over their properties: he may *tapu* all the people, impose on them certain works, and make peace or war at will. He presides at all public assemblies, at the *kava*, and at all solemn festivals. The *Kivalu* alone has the right to question his acts, or even sometimes to veto them. The King is always addressed in the third person, and particular words are used in speaking of or to him, which are never used under other circumstances," in which these people resemble the Samoans, Tahitians, and some others. "The common people never address him at all, and all sit down whilst he passes, and incline their heads. Those who have the right of speech with the King avoid looking him in the face, and turn a little on one side whilst so doing."

"The *Kivalu* is the second person in the island, and when he is an intriguer, or possessed of intelligence, he exercises a veritable domination over all, even whilst retaining only the second rank in the State. The dignity of *Kivalu* does not leave the family; it is hereditary, like that of the sovereign; and as the *Kivalu* designates the successor to the King, so does the latter appoint the successor to the *Kivalu*, always by the collateral, and not the direct line."

It was the custom of the country that a murder placed all the inhabitants of the valley where it was committed at the mercy of the King.

The excessive deference shown by the Ueans to the principal chief or king was not universal among Polynesians. The democratic Maori, for instance, showed none of these outward and humiliating signs of respect to his great chiefs, though respecting and fearing them all the same.* The use also of a "Court language"—if it may so be termed—is confined, practically, to the Samoans and Tongans, and from the latter people no doubt those of Uea derived the custom.

Beneath the King and *Kivalu* in rank are the chiefs of villages, who have their own honours, but never receive them in the presence of the King, the *Kivalu* or the members of the two principal families. The chiefs receive the orders of the King through the *Kivalu*, and transmit them to those beneath them down to the lowest in the social scale. The people of the lower classes are termed *tua*. They owe respect to all, and all above them have the right to command them. The custom of Wallis Island is, that when a chief enters a house he enjoys the right to take all in it that he pleases. *Tua* is also the name of the lowest class in Tonga, and is no doubt identical with the Maori *tutua*, a person of low birth.

RELIGION OF THE PEOPLE.

After quoting Moerenhout's "Religious Chant of Tangaloa,"† beginning "Il était, Tangaroa est son nom," Père Mangeret says: "One cannot deny that chant of Oceania to have been impressed with a certain grandeur, nor that it bears a certain likeness to that of the first chapter of Genesis, but that the ideas expressed in it were

* The New Caledonians appear to have paid much the same outward respect to their great chiefs. Le Mire says: "The men never pass near a chief without bending in respect. At his approach they remove out of his way, and squat down, and dare not look at him. If they are obliged to pursue a route near where he is they do so by crawling." It was the same in Fiji. Can this custom have originated during the sojourn of the Polynesians in the Fiji Group?

† See "Journal of the Polynesian Society," vol. I., page 81.

common to the people of Polynesia has not been proved.* At Wallis Island, Bishop Bataillon has discovered no trace of it, and if the Uveans adored Kakahu as a superior divinity they did not attribute to him a nature different to that of their other gods." The same missionary says: "Now the ideal of divinity (in the mind of the Uvean) was one hurtful to mankind, as is common to all Oceania. The hierarchy of the gods in Polynesian religions possessed therefore a diversity of powers, but not of goodness. The first class included the superior divinities, spirits which never united with bodies; the masters who held high domain over the isle, but who did not deign to manifest their powers by their goodness. The second class comprised the spirits who had lived in the body, above all in those of the chiefs, who were deified after their death, something like the demi-gods and heroes of the fables. These gods of the second class inhabited the night—place of darkness—where they fed less well than man, and had no other occupation or other power than to torment human beings by sending them destructive famines, and above all, death. Beneath the superior and middle-class gods, in the last rank, came the *Atua-muli*, who had not the privilege, like the others, of passing into the bodies of the priests, and inspiring them. Their sole function was to distribute to man wounds and maladies, without being able to cause death, a power which alone belonged to the higher classes."

"The people never dreamt of loving these divinities; they did not render them other worship than that of fear, and constantly sought to appease their wrath by offerings. But with these different ceremonies—which were not always edifying—they nevertheless recited prayers. A chief would arise, and in the name of all the people present, would say:—

"Oh the god which we invoke, cease to be mischievous to us. We abandon to you the government of our land; try to render it happy. You see that we do not drive you away as they do in other islands, and to recompense us, you do not cease to speak evil of us to the king, and to send death to us. When then do you intend to put an end to such conduct?" After the prayer, each one renders his offering, which consisted generally of the worst of all the productions of the year, as much as to say:—"See the fine fruits we give you. Have care another time to put the best into our fields!"

* It is possible that the old native priests never disclosed to their christian teachers the higher and esoteric doctrines of their cult. This is known to have been the case in other parts of Polynesia. The unwillingness to mention the old beliefs often arose from a fear that they would become the subject of ridicule.

Outside the annual and obligatory fête, there was at Wallis Island no other religious duty imposed on the people, by week or by day. A single observance was in force on other occasions, and that was to untie the hair in passing before the house, or the sign consecrated to the gods, and that not so much out of respect to the divinity as out of fear of his mischievous powers.

THE PRIESTS.

Healing was practised by the priests. They did not speak by themselves, but in the name of the divinity by whom they were—for the time being—inspired. In case of failure, it was never considered to be the fault of the priest, but rather that of the god by whom he was inspired. When anyone was taken ill, he went to the abode of the priest, with the invariable accompaniment of a *kava* root, the all necessary means to induce inspiration. After an abundant libation, the priest became inspired, which was indicated outwardly by tremblings and convulsive movements of the body, loud shouting, discourses composed in a special style and delivered in a tone not less extraordinary. Not infrequently, gravity, reason, or virtue were offended by these strange discourses, but the people were never shocked by anything. Under the influence of the god, the priests indicated the remedies by chance; if his predictions were not accomplished, it was the fault of the god. Frequently the sufferers were told that non-success was due to the insufficiency of the offerings. When the period of inspiration had terminated, the priest informed the assembled people, who would often conjure the god not to leave them for a time, to which he sometimes consented. Afterwards he made his adieu and departed, not towards the heavens, but to the place of night where, according to popular belief, he had elected to reside. After the departure of the god, the functions of the priest ceased, and he became again an ordinary mortal like the rest of the people. Many of these priests after their conversion confessed that their inspiration was mere acting, and a play on the credulity of the people.

Madmen were considered to be possessed by the *atua*, and were *tapu*. As such the people avoided all contact with them, and on meeting one, passed round by another way to avoid contamination. Their sacred character, however, did not prevent them being stoned to death sometimes if they became too obnoxious to their neighbours, a custom which was not confined to Uea.*

* See Hon. W. D. Alexander's "Brief History of the Hawaiian People," page 34.

THE TAPU.

The Ueans would not be Polynesians did they not possess this well-known custom. "That usage and practice had at the same time a religious and a civil character. The religious dominated, because in its principle or origin the *tapu* was a proclamation made by the priest. It was a prohibitive law, a solemn 'touch not,' which constantly sounded in their ears, and served to keep at a distance the profane and the importunate, and the willful or involuntary infraction of which brought on the transgressor consequences differing according to the nature of the offence, or the rank of the person affected. If it referred to a place declared *tapu* in an absolute manner, no one might enter under any pretext. If it applied to fish, fruit, or any food, all were interdicted from using them until the *tapu* was removed. If it was not on a thing, but on some person, it became an obligation on all to abstain from touching that person under pain of becoming *tapu* also. He who was under the law of *tapu* was excluded from all communication with his fellow man. The utensils which had been used by him were burnt, and he could not feed himself with his own hands. If the subject of the *tapu* belonged to one of the noble class, servants were appointed to feed him as they do an infant, and if he were not of that class he was obliged to take his food with his mouth, after the manner of animals, without using his hands. The great care of the people was to avoid the *tapu* for themselves, and their constant fear was not to have respected it in others. On the occasion of all accidents, all maladies, each one says: 'I have not respected the *tapu*, or if not me, it is one of my relatives.' They then have but one anxiety—to appease the anger of the god offended, or to disarm the wrath of the chief or priest. To that end their custom imposed a sort of public confession; without repentance, it is true, and quite exterior, but at least an acknowledgment of a fault committed, and to an authority recognised. With *kava* root in hand, which was the ordinary method of entering into conversation with a superior, they sought out a chief or priest, and commenced the confession. The culprit sat down, then inclining forward, the usual sign of humility, said, 'I am a man who deceives myself often, and I have done so again.' This confession of fault did not always repair the damage caused to himself or others, but the victim had done what he could to repair his fault, and hence he remained after his confession tranquil and patient."

Such are the brief notes regarding Uea and its people that are to be obtained from Père Mangeret's two interesting volumes; they

obviously omit much that is valuable. It is greatly to be desired that the French gentlemen who are living on the island in daily intercourse with the people would preserve for us the lore of the natives, much of which must still be retained by the old people. Their traditions, history, poetry, language, and customs are all worthy of preservation, and if not secured now, the opportunity will have passed away for ever. In many lands the Catholic Missionaries have rendered great services to science by their writings on such subjects. Let us hope that those of Uea will do likewise while they have the chance.





PRE-HISTORIC CIVILISATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

BY ELSDON BEST.

THE TAGALO-BISAYA TRIBES.—I.

WHEN a powerful and highly civilised nation comes in contact with a barbaric and isolated people, who have nevertheless advanced many steps on the road of progress, it would naturally be thought that the superior and conquering race would endeavour to collect and place on record information concerning such people: their manners, customs, language, religion, and traditions. Unfortunately, in the case of the Spanish conquests of the sixteenth century, that nation appears never to have considered it a duty to hand down to posterity any detailed description of the singularly interesting races they had vanquished. As it was with the Guanches of the Canaries, the Aztecs of Mexico, and the Quichuas of Peru, so was it with the Chamorro of the Ladrones, and the Tagalo-Bisaya tribes of the Philippines. The same Vandal spirit that prompted the *conquistadores* to destroy the Maya and Aztec literature also moved them to demolish the written records of the Philippine natives, and but few attempts were made to preserve relics or information concerning them. The Spanish priests, as the lettered men of those times, were the persons we should look to for such a work, but in their religious ardour they thought only of the subjugation and conversion of the natives, and so, with the sword in one hand, and crucifix in the other, they marched through that fair land, ignoring and destroying the evidences of a strange semi-civilisation which should have been to them a study of the deepest interest. Fortunately, however, there were a few in that period who were interested in such matters, and who wrote accounts of the state of culture of the islanders of that early date. Some of these MSS. have been preserved in the archives of Manila, and have lately attracted the attention of Spanish scholars.

Such is the article from which the greater part of these notes are taken. In the volume for 1891 of the *Revista Ibero-Americana*, published at Madrid, there appeared a series of papers contributed by the Bishop of Oviedo, and entitled "*La antigua civilizacion de las Islas Filipinas*," in which he gives a very interesting description of the natives and their mode of life. The source of this information is

an old folio manuscript written on rice-paper in the year 1610 from data collected at the period of the Spanish conquest of the Philippines by Legaspi. It is extended to the year 1606, and relates minutely the condition of the islanders prior to the arrival of the Spanish. The codex is divided into five books, and these again into 188 *capitulos* or chapters. The writer lived in the group for twenty-nine years in order to complete his work, which is authorised by authentic signatures of responsible persons. Extracts have also been made from Miguel de Lo-arca's account of the Philippines written in 1583, Dampier's voyage in the *Pinckerton* collection, and Antonio de Morga's "*Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*."

The first historical existence of the Malay proper is traced to Menangkabau in the Island of Sumatra, from whence they have spread over the islands of the East Indian Archipelago, and by their vigour, energy, and skill have made themselves masters of the original inhabitants. At an early period they probably received instruction from Hindoo immigrants in the arts of working metals, spinning, weaving, &c. As to the whence of the various Malayan tribes of the Philippines, it is most probable that they originally reached the archipelago from Borneo, or the Malay Peninsula. From northern Borneo the Sulu islands form a series of stepping-stones across to Mindanao. As the Tagalo language is looked upon as one of the purest of Malay dialects, and contains the least number of Sanscrit words, it may be inferred from this that the race has occupied the islands from an early date. It is possible that the first settlers were carried thither by ocean currents, and that the Kuro Siwo, or Black Current, which sweeps up past Luzon is also responsible for the existence of the Kabaran (a Malay tribe) in Formosa. From ancient times boats and men have drifted up from the Malay Islands to Japan, and W. E. Griffis, in his "*Mikado's Empire*," states that Shikoku and Kiushiu were inhabited by a mixed race descended from people who had come from Malaysia and South-Eastern Asia. It is most probable that Micronesia was settled from the Philippine Group, which thus became the meeting ground of the northern migration of Polynesians from Samoa, and the Micronesians proper. The Spanish codex before mentioned states that the Tagalo-Bisaya tribes were thought to be derived from the coasts of Malabar and Malacca, and that, according to tradition, they arrived at the islands in small vessels called *barangayan*, under the direction of *dato* or *maguino* (chiefs or leaders), who retained their chieftainship after the landing as the basis of a social organisation of a tribal kind, and that every *barangay* (district or tribal division) was composed of about fifty families. Nothing definite appears to have been obtained from their traditions as to the original habitat of the race, and this may be accounted for by the supposition that the migration occurred at a remote period, and that all knowledge of their former home was lost. When a migratory

race takes possession of new regions it maintains little or no correspondence with those left behind; thus in time they forget their old habitations, and their geographical knowledge is reduced to obscure and fading traditions.

On arriving at their new home the invaders must have ejected the indigenous Aieta from the low-lying country, and driven them back into the mountains. Juan de Salcedo, the Cortes of the Philippines, in his triumphal march round the island of Luzon, was unable to conquer many of the hill tribes, both Aieta and Tagalo, some of whom have remained independent until the present time. The Spanish Government forbade all intercourse with these mountaineers on pain of one hundred lashes and two years' imprisonment, and this edict had the effect of preserving the ruder, non-agricultural hill-races.

This invading race of Malays was divided into many different tribes, the principal ones being the Tagalo of Luzon and the Bisaya of the southern isles. The Tagalo or Ta-Galoc were the most numerous, and were endowed with all the valour and politeness which can be expected in a semi-civilised people. The Pampango and Camarine tribes were noted for their generosity. The Cagayane were a brave people, but easily civilised. The Bisaya were also called Pintados or "painted ones," by the Spanish, from their custom of *tattooing* the body. Within this community of tribes there are numerous differences of dialects and customs, clothing, character, and physical structure, which in many cases indicate obvious traces of foreign mixture.

As a race, the Philippine natives of the Malayan tribes are of moderate stature, well-formed, and of a coppery-red colour, or, as De Morga quaintly describes them, "They were of the colour of boiled quinces, having a clever disposition for anything they undertook: sharp, choleric, and resolute." Both men and women were in the habit of anointing and perfuming their long black hair, which they wore gathered in a knot or roll on the back of the head. The women, who were of pleasing appearance, adorned their hair with jewels, and also wore ear-pendants and finger-rings of gold. The men had little or no beard, and both sexes were distinguished for their large, black eyes. The Zambales, or Beheaders, shaved the front part of the head, and wore on the skull a great lock of loose hair, which custom also obtained among the ancient Chamorro of the Ladrões. Most of the tribes filed their teeth, and stained them black with burnt cocoanut shell; while among the Bisaya the upper teeth were bored, and the perforations filled with gold, a singular custom observed by Marco Polo in China, and which was also practised in ancient Peru and Egypt. Many of the tribes are spoken of by the early Spanish navigators as being endowed with fair intellectual capacities, possessing great powers of imitation, sober, brave, and determined. The Tagalo character, according to some later writers, is difficult to define: the

craniologist and physiognomist may often find themselves at fault. They are great children, their nature being a singular combination of vices and virtues.

The costume of the men consisted of a short-sleeved cotton-tunic (*chinina*), usually black or blue, which came below the waist, a coloured cotton waistcloth, or kilt (*bahaque*), extending nearly to the knees, and over this a belt or sash of silk a handbreadth wide, and terminating in two gold tassels. On the right side hung a dagger (*bararao*) three palms long, and double-edged, the hilt formed of ivory or gold, and the sheath of buffalo-hide. They wore a turban (*potong*) on the head, and also leg-bands of black reeds or vines such as are seen among the Papuans of New Guinea. Chains, bracelets (*calombiga*), and armlets of gold, cornelian and agate were much worn, and he was reckoned a poor person who did not possess several gold chains. Hernando Requel, writing home to Spain, stated: "There is more gold in this island of Luzon than there is iron in Biscay."

The Tinguiane had a peculiar custom of wearing tightly-compressed bracelets, which stopped the growth of the forearm, and caused the hand to swell. Women wore the *tapis*, a bordered and ornamented cloth wrapped round the body, which was confined by a belt, and descended to the ankles. The bust was covered with a wide-sleeved *camisita*, or frock (*baro*), to which was sometimes added a handkerchief. The women of Luzon were without head-dress, but made use of a parasol of palm-leaves (*payong*). Among the Bisaya the women wore a small cap or hood, and in the northern isles they were permitted the luxury of being carried on the shoulders of slaves. Both sexes wore the same dress among the Ilocanos, the chief article of attire being a loose coat (*cabaya*) similar to those of the Chinese. The dress of the Chiefs' wives was more elegant than that of women of the common people (*timaguas*). They wore white robes, and others of crimson silk, plain or interwoven with gold, and trimmed with fringes and trinkets. From their ears were suspended golden pendants of excellent workmanship, and on their fingers and ankles were massive gold rings set with precious stones. The *timaguas* and slaves went barefooted, but the upper class wore shoes, the women being daintily shod with velvet shoes embroidered with gold. "Both men and women were very cleanly and elegant in their persons and dress, and of a goodly mien and grace; they took great pains with their hair, rejoicing in its blackness, washing it with the boiled bark of a tree called *gogo*, and anointing it with musk oil and other perfumes." They bathed daily, and looked upon it as a remedy for almost every complaint. On the birth of a child the mother repaired to the nearest stream, and bathed herself and the little one, after which she returned to her ordinary occupation. Women were well treated among these people, and had for their employment domestic work, needlework—in which they

excelled—the spinning and weaving of silk and cotton into various fabrics, and also the preparation of the hemp, palm, and *anana* fibres.

The Philippine natives, with the exception of some of the hill tribes, were diligent agriculturalists, this being their chief occupation. In some mountainous regions they adopted a system of terrace cultivation similar to that of China, Peru, and Northern Mexico in bygone times, and which may also be seen in Java. They cultivated rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, cocoanuts, sugar-cane, palms, various vegetable roots and fibrous plants. They hunted the buffalo, deer, and wild boar. The flesh of the buffalo, or *karabao*, was preserved for future use by being cut into slices and dried in the sun, when it was called *tapa*. Rice was prepared by being boiled, then pounded in a wooden mortar and pressed into cakes, thus forming the bread of the country. They made palm wine (*alac* or *mosto*) from the sap of various species of palms. Food was stored in raised houses similar to the *pataka* of the Maori. The first fruits of the harvest were devoted to the deified spirits of ancestors, called *anito*.* The Bisaya, when planting rice, had the singular custom of offering a portion of the seed at each corner of the field as a sacrifice. The ordinary dainty among the islanders was the *buyo* or betel quid, consisting of a leaf of betel pepper (*tambul* or *siri*) smeared over with burnt lime and wrapped round a piece of areca nut (*bonga*).

“The *Filipinos*,” says the old Spanish *padre*, “lived in houses (*bahei*) built of bamboo, cane, and palm leaves, and raised upon foundation-piles about six feet from the ground.” These dwellings were supplied with cane screens in the place of divisions and doors. The elevated floor, where they ate and slept, was also made of split cane, and the whole structure was secured by reeds and cords for want of nails. They ascended to these houses by a portable ladder, which was removed when the inmates went out, a sign that no person might approach the dwelling, which was otherwise unsecured. The house was surrounded by a gallery or verandah (*batalan*), and within the common apartment were the household utensils, dishes and plates of earthenware, and copper vessels for various purposes. They had, moreover, in their houses some low tables and chairs, also boxes called *tampipi*, which served for the purpose of keeping wearing apparel and jewels. Their bedding consisted usually of mats manufactured from various fibres. The houses of the chiefs were much larger and better constructed than those of the *timaguas*. Many of their villages were built on the banks of rivers and the shores of lakes and harbours, so that they were surrounded by water, in the manner of the seaside dwellings of New Guinea and the Gulf of Maracaibo. Among the Tinguiane tree houses were made use of. In these they slept at night, in order to avoid being surprised by enemies, and

* Chamorro, *aniti* = a deified spirit; Malay, *hantu* = a demon.

defended themselves by hurling down stones upon the attacking party, exactly in the same manner as the natives of New Britain do to this day.

The external commerce of the Tagalo tribes was principally with China, of which nation there were vessels in Manila on the arrival of the Spanish. They are also said to have had intercourse with Japan, Borneo, and Siam. They had no coined money, but to facilitate trade they utilised gold as a medium of exchange in the form of dust and ingots, which were valued by weight. Magellan speaks of their system of weights and measures. These people were skilful shipwrights and navigators. The Bisaya were in the habit of making piratical forays among the isles. Their vessels were of various kinds, some being propelled by oars or paddles, and others were provided with masts and sails. Canoes were made of large trees, and were often fitted with keels and decks, while larger vessels, called *virey* and *barangayan* were constructed of planks fastened with wooden bolts. The rowers, with *busey* (paddles) or oars (*gayong*), timed their work to the voices of others, who sung words appropriate to the occasion, and by which the rowers understood whether to hasten or retard their work. Above the rowers was a platform (*bailio*) on which the fighting men stood without embarrassing the rowers, and above this again was the *carang* or awning. They sometimes used outriggers (*balancoire*) on both sides of the vessel. The *lapi* and *tapaue* were vessels of the largest kind, some carrying as many as two hundred and fifty men. The *barangan*, a type of vessel used from the earliest times, was singularly like those of the ancients described by Homer.

Society among the Tagalo-Bisaya tribes was divided into three classes, the chiefs and nobles, the common people (*timagua*), and the slaves. The principal of every social group—styled *maguinoo* among the Tagalo, *bagani* by the Manobo, and *dato** by the Bisaya—was the only political, military, and judicial authority. These chieftainships were hereditary, and the same respect was shown to the women as to the men of the ruling families. Their power over the people was despotic, they imposed a tribute upon the harvests, and could at any time reduce a subject to slavery, or dispose of his property and children. The slaves were divided into two classes: the *sanguihuileres*, who were in entire servitude, as also were their children—lived and served in the houses of their masters; while the *namamahayes* lived in houses of their own, and only worked as slaves on special occasions, such as at harvesting and housebuilding. Among this latter class there obtained a peculiar half-bond system, which may be explained thus: In the event of a free man marrying a slave woman, and their having an only son, that child would be half free and half enslaved—that is, he would work one month for his owner and the next for himself. If they had more than one child, the first-born would

* Malay, *datoh*=a headman.

follow the condition of the father, the second that of the mother, and so on. If there were uneven numbers, the last born was half free and half bond. Slaves were bought, sold, and exchanged like ordinary merchandise. In their social manners these people were very courteous, more especially the Luzon tribes. They never spoke to a superior without removing the turban. They then knelt upon one knee, raised their hands to their cheeks, and awaited authority to speak. The *hong*i, or nose-pressing salutation of the Polynesians, was an ancient custom in the Philippine Group, and on the island of Timor. It also obtained among the Chamorro* of the Ladrones, who termed it *tshomiko*. The Philippine natives addressed all superiors in the third person, and added to every sentence the word *po*, equivalent to *señor*. They were given to addresses replete with compliments, and were fond of the music of the *cud*, a guitar with two strings of copper wire. In regard to judicial matters, all complaints were brought before the *dato* of the *barangay* (district) for examination. Though they had no written laws, they had established rules and customs by which all disputes were settled, and the chiefs recovered their fees by seizing the property not only of the vanquished party, but also of his witnesses. Trial by ordeal was common, the usual mode being that of plunging the arm into a vessel of boiling water and taking out a stone from the bottom; or a lighted torch was placed in the hands of the accused, and if the flame flickered towards him he was pronounced guilty. Theft was sometimes punished by death, in which case the condemned was executed by the thrust of a lance. In some cases the thief was punished by being reduced to slavery. Loans with excessive interest were ordinary, the debtor and his children often becoming enslaved to the lender. Verbal insults were punished with great severity. It was also regarded as a great insult to step over a sleeping person, and they even objected to wakening one asleep†. This seems to refer to the widespread belief of the soul leaving a sleeping body. Their worse curse was, "May thou die sleeping." The male children underwent a species of circumcision at an early age, which was but preparatory to further rites. Their oaths of fidelity, in conventions of peace and friendship, were ratified by the ceremony of blood-brotherhood, in which a vein of the arm being opened, the flowing blood was drunk by the other party. Among these people was sometimes seen that singular mania for imitation called by the Javanese *sakit latar*, on the Amoor *olon*, in Siberia *imuiira*, and in the Philippines *malimali*. This peculiar malady, presumably the result of a deranged nervous system, manifests itself as far as I can gather, in the following manner, the afflicted person is seized with a desire to

* Spanish, *chamorra*=shorn. So called on account of the custom of shaving the head.

† In which they resemble the Maoris of New Zealand.—EDITORS.

copy or imitate the actions and movements of others, and will do the most extraordinary and ridiculous things to attain his object. The despair induced by this strange mania and its consequent ridicule, urges the unfortunate to end his life in the dreaded *Amok*. These unfortunates were sometimes attacked by the *amok* frenzy.

It is certain that gold and copper mines have been worked in the islands from early times. The copper ore was smelted, and worked into various utensils and implements, and the gold was formed into ornaments, or used as a medium of exchange. The ruder mountain tribes brought much gold from the interior, and traded it to the lowland people in exchange for various coveted articles. Several of the tribes were in the habit of *tattooing* the body, the Bisaya being the most noted for the practice. The Catalangan Iraya used for *tattoo* patterns, and as decorations for sacred places certain marks and characters which appeared to be of Chinese or Japanese origin. The Iraya proper used only straight and simple curved lines like those of the Aieta. The Ysarog (Issaró), a primitive race of mountaineers who have been isolated for centuries, are said by later writers to resemble the Dyaks of Borneo. Time was reckoned in former days by suns and moons, and feasts were held on the occurrence of certain astronomical phenomena. Brass gongs were much used at these feasts, and also on war expeditions.

Such are some of the notes collected in reference to this interesting race. These Tagalo, these Bisaya, these Pampango, and Cagayane were despised by their Iberian conquerors as being ignorant savages; but, as the good old *padre* says in his MS., they were worthy of being placed on a superior level to certain ancient people who possess a more illustrious fame. And who shall say it was not so?

NOTE.

We beg to subjoin the following list of books of reference not above mentioned for those interested in the subject of the races of the Philippine Islands:—

Keane's "Eastern Geography: a Geography of the Malay Peninsula, Indo-China, the Eastern Archipelago, the Philippines, and New Guinea."

"Twenty Years in the Philippines," by Paul de la Gironiere. 1856.

"The Philippine Islands," by F. Jagor. 1875.

"Les Iles Philippines, Histoire, Géographie, Mœurs, &c.," par J. Mallat. 1846.

"A Visit to the Philippine Islands," by Sir John Bowring. 1859.

"Premier Voyage Autour du Monde," par le Chevalier Pigafetta sur l'écadre de Magellan pendant, 1519-22.

"Voyage en Chine, Cochinchine, Inde et Malaisie," par Aug. Haussman. 1847.

"Social History of the Races of Mankind (Papua and Malayo-Melanesians) by A. Featherman. 1887.

"Les Iles Philippines," par le Comte Charles de Montblanc. 1878.

"State of the Philippines," by Thomas de Cornyns. 1798.

"Voyage Autour du Monde," par M. Laplace. 1833.

"Die Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres Bearbeitet," Von Dr. W. F. A. Zimmerman. 1863.

"L'Archipel des Philippines," par Edm. Planchet (dans le Revue des Deux Mondes). Mars, 1877.

"Eine Weltreise," Von Dr. Hans Meyer. 1885.

"Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner," Von C. Semper. 1869.



HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

We learn from Honolulu that the Hawaiian Historical Society has commenced its operations successfully, and would call the attention of our members to a very interesting paper, by the Hon. W. D. Alexander, on "The Relations between the Hawaiian Islands and Spanish America," in which the author shows conclusively that the Sandwich Islands were known to the Spaniards long before their re-discovery by Captain Cook in 1778. It appears probable that part of Don Alvarado de Saavedra's squadron was wrecked at Hawaii in 1527; and it is now shown with much more certainty that Don Rey Lopez de Villalobos saw the islands, and named them "Islas del Ruy," on his voyage from Acapulco in Mexico to the Philippines in 1542.

The following members of the Polynesian Society have been elected Corresponding Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society: H. G. Seth-Smith, F. D. Fenton, E. Tregear, and S. Percy Smith.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

8. Can any member give information as to the natives of the Mantawi Islands, which lie 70 miles west of Sumatra, and who are said by Von Rosenberg in his 'Malayische Archipel' to bear strong affinities to the Polynesians.—ELSDON BEST.

In answer to Mr. Best's query (No. 8) *re* the Mantawi islanders, we beg to state that information is difficult to obtain concerning them. However they may physically resemble Polynesians, they do not speak any Polynesian dialect. We give a short vocabulary:—

ENGLISH.		MANTAWI.		MALAY.		MAORI.
Man	.. ..	mantao	.. ..	orang	.. ..	tangata.
Head	.. ..	utai	.. ..	ulu	.. ..	uru.
Teeth	.. ..	chone	.. ..	gigi	.. ..	niho.
Eye	.. ..	matah	.. ..	mata	.. ..	mata.
Nose	.. ..	assak	.. ..	idung	.. ..	ihu.
Hair	.. ..	ali	.. ..	bulu	.. ..	huruhuru.
Blood	.. ..	logou	.. ..	darah	.. ..	toto.
Hand	.. ..	kavaye	.. ..	tangan	.. ..	ringa.
Fire	.. ..	ovange	.. ..	api	.. ..	ahi.
Water	.. ..	jojar	.. ..	ayar	.. ..	wai.
Day	.. ..	mancheep	.. ..	ari	.. ..	ao.
Night	.. ..	gebgeb	.. ..	malam	.. ..	po.
White	.. ..	mataye	.. ..	putih	.. ..	tea, ma.
Black	.. ..	mablow	.. ..	itam	.. ..	mangu.
Dead	.. ..	mapuchu	.. ..	mati	.. ..	mate.
Bird	.. ..	umah	.. ..	manuk	.. ..	manu.
Pig ..	.. ..	buku, babui	.. ..	babi	.. ..	puaa*.
Sun	.. ..	mata-luoh-chulu	.. ..	mata-ari	.. ..	ra.
Moon	.. ..	lago	.. ..	bulan	.. ..	marama.
Star	.. ..	panyean	.. ..	bintang	.. ..	whetu.
Fish	.. ..	eibah	.. ..	ikan	.. ..	ika.
Egg	.. ..	agoloh	.. ..	talor	.. ..	hua (manu).

* *Puaa* is the old word for pig, said by Captain Cook to be known to the Maori people when he came. It is the Polynesian *puaka*, the modern *poaka*.—ED.

Small as is the real affinity between the Malay and Maori vocabularies, it can be easily seen by these comparisons that Mantawi and Maori has still less. The Malay words for head, eye, hair, fire, dead, bird, and fish have close correspondence of sound and sense with their Maori equivalents, while the words for hand, water, blood, star, moon, pig, and man can be traced through varying forms to a probable relationship. The Mantawi is a foreign tongue; although *kavaye*, the hand, may be allied to the Maori *kawe*, to carry. *Matah*, as the eye or face, is common in some form to all Oceanic people, and may be traced also in India, Arabia and Persia, so that it is useless as a link with Polynesian proper. If the Mantawi are Polynesian they have lost their old form of speech.—EDITORS.

9. I should much like to know if our members can communicate information as to any system of recording events, or of pictorial symbolism, which obtained in any of the islands. I allude to such attempts at memory-helping as the rude message-sticks of Australia and the *rusl* or *quipu* of the Pelew Islands.—ELSDON BEST.

In regard to the question as to the use of notched sticks or knotted cords (*quipu*) as aids to memory among Polynesian peoples, the Maoris used notched pieces of wood for this purpose, especially for recording genealogies. These were known as *rakau-whakapapa*; and similar mnemonic aids were common in many Pacific islands. The knotted cord was used over a great part of the world in ancient times as a stimulant to memory. (See Keat's "Pelew Islands," pp. 367, 392; Erman, "E. Travels," vol. I., p. 492; Goguet, vol. I., pp. 161, 212, and vol. III., p. 322; Klemm, C. G., vol. I., p. 3, and vol. IV., p. 396; Bastian, vol. I., p. 412; Charlevoix, vol. VI., p. 151; Long's Exp., vol. I., p. 235; Talbot's "Disc. of Lederer," p. 4; Humboldt and Bonpland, vol. III., p. 20; Marsden, p. 192; De Mailla's "Histoire Gén. de la Chine," vol. I., p. 4, &c.) In China, the invention of memorizing by means of knotted cords is attributed to the Emperor Suy-jin, the Chinese Prometheus. The western Africans, and the Mexicans, used them in the Asiatic fashion; while in Peru this system of recording was carried to its highest perfection, and to great complexity. In the Pacific it was well known. Thus Turner, in his account of Nui (Netherland Island, Ellice Group), says: "Tying a number of knots on a piece of cord was also a common way of noting and remembering things, in the absence of a written language, among these South Sea Islanders." The *quipu* was in use about 50 years ago in Hawaii. "The tax-gatherers, although they can neither read nor write, keep very exact accounts of all the articles of all kinds collected from the inhabitants throughout the island. This is done principally by one man; and the register is nothing more than a line of cordage, from four to five hundred fathoms in length. Distinct portions of this are allotted to various districts, which are known from one another by knots, loops, and tufts, of different shapes, sizes, and colours. Each tax-payer in the district has his part in this string, and the number of dogs, hogs, pieces of sandal wood, quantity of *taro*, &c., at which he is rated, is well defined by means of marks of the above kinds, most ingeniously diversified" (Tyerman and Bennet, "Journal," vol. I., p. 455).—EDITORS.

10. Can any of the members of the Society furnish any information as to the migration of the Polynesians to Uea or Halgan Island of the Loyalty Islands? It would be interesting to know the place from which they came, the length (or number of generations) of their sojourn at Uea, and the result of the mixture with the original Melanesians of that island.—S. PERCY SMITH.

11. It is hoped at some future time when sufficient evidence has accumulated to publish a map or maps of those parts of the Pacific included in the Society's definition of "Polynesia," on which may be shown the correct native names of all the islands, and so far as practicable, of localities in them. To this end the

Council will be very glad to receive from members such corrections of the names in common use as they are able to supply. It is particularly requested that any old or disused names of islands or places may also be given. Where possible the meanings of names should also be supplied, and if—as so often happens—there are histories connected with the origin of the names, it would prove of great interest to preserve these. Many of our members have not the time to devote to long papers on the subjects which it is the special function of the Society to illustrate, but in this branch—the history and origin of place names—an opening is offered to those who have the opportunities, and but little time, to add greatly to our knowledge. A beginning has already been made: Mr. Shand, of the Chatham Islands, Mr. Rutland, of Marlborough, Rev. J. W. Stack, of Christchurch, and the Rev. T. G. Hammond, of Patea, N.Z., have already made some progress in this direction. There is a complete list of the Paumotu Islands, with their native names, in the “*Annuaire de Tahiti*” for 1863, containing seventy-seven names, with the latitude and longitude of each.—EDITORS.

12. It has been stated that the early navigators found in several of the islands of the Pacific, stone axes and other articles made of green jade, a stone which is believed to be found *in situ* only in New Zealand, New Caledonia and the Louisiade Archipelago. Can any of our members give any information on this subject, and describe the articles, with the native account of the origin of them? In the chart drawn up by Cook and Forster in 1768 from information supplied by their Tahitian companion Tupaea, is marked one named in the peculiar orthography of those two eminent men, O-Heevai (believed to be Hawaii or Savaii, of Samoa), with this note added: “From here the Tahitians procure their fine axes.” Can our Tahitian members give any information as to these axes, and what they were composed of? It is said that the jade of New Caledonia is sometimes white in colour with green veins in it, and semi-transparent. Is there any record of this stone being found in Tonga, Fiji, Samoa, or other islands, in the shape of axes ornaments, &c.?—S. PERCY SMITH.

13. In a communication received from our corresponding member, Professor Otis T. Mason, curator of the Ethnological branch, National Museum, Washington, he asks if “the last word has been said regarding the migrations of the brown or Polynesian race in the Pacific?” The answer is, certainly not; a vast amount of information has yet to be collected, and the Council would earnestly request our members living in the various islands to collect and forward for record and publication all that can be procured from the natives on this subject. At the present time there are many of the islands whose histories, or the whence of their inhabitants, is unknown. The Professor also asks for suggestions as to a good general name for the area commonly designated Australasia, Indo-Pacific, and Oceanica, the area, in fact, included in the limits of the word “Polynesia” as applied to the name of our Society. There are at present a number of names given to these areas, and different authors use different names for the same regions, leading to endless confusion. It is probable, that if the Society would take the question up and decide on general names for the areas mentioned, that they would be accepted by the world at large. Mr. Mason also asks for generic names for the various races or stocks commonly included in the terms Negrito, Negrillo, Papuan, Melanesian, Alfuro, Malay, Sawaiori, Mahori, Micronesian, and Polynesian. A definition of these various stocks or breeds is much wanted, to avoid confusion in writing of them; it is probable that the names of the areas will follow those of the stocks. The Council will be glad to receive papers on these subjects, with a view to a definite nomenclature being adopted.—EDITORS.

14. As a note in reference to my article on “The Polynesian Bow,” which appeared in the first number of the Journal, I beg to subjoin the following infor-

mation. I have been asked to furnish a more particular account of the depth, &c., of soil above the bow when found. I therefore wrote to the finder, Mr. D. W. Fagan, of Mangapai, asking for a detailed relation. On the 21st May, 1892, he replied by letter, from which I make this extract: "The soil was alluvial sandy clay, forming, I imagine, the old bed of a creek. The surface soil was black loam, about 6 inches to 9 inches deep. The bow was found at a depth of about 2 feet 6 inches, in a horizontal position. No other relics were found by me at the time; but I hear that adzes and pieces of greenstone have been found there before. The surface soil is largely composed of burnt shells and charred bones. There was, I am informed, an extensive Maori settlement on the spot in former times; indeed the whole of my orchard fronting the shore of the Mangapai River was a Maori cultivation." Mr. Percy Smith says that the bow is made of *titoki* wood; the pith is plainly visible.—EDWARD TREGEAR.

15. In Kendall's New Zealand Grammar, 1820 (or rather Professor Lee's Grammar compiled from Kendall's notes), is given a Maori song, the following being d'Urville's text:—

E taka to e au ki te tiu marangai
 I wiua mai ai e koinga du anga
 Tai rawa nei ki te puke ki ere atu
 E tata te wiunga te tai ki a Taiwa,
 Ki a koe, e Taua, ka wiua, ki te tonga
 Nau i o mai e kahu, e turiki,
 E takowe e o mo toku nei rangi
 Ka tai ki reira, aku rangi auraki.

The translation given of this compares so remarkably with that of a Bugis (Celebes Islands) song that they should run in parallel columns. The French version of the Bugis song is given in Rienzi's "Océanie," p. 585, and has been noted as to coincidence by Dr. Lesson ("Les Polynésiens," vol. III., p. 142)—

Maori.

The strong and irresistible wind which blows from the tempestuous North has made so deep an impression on my soul, in thinking of thee, oh Taua, that I have climbed to the mountain's highest peak to be a witness of thy departure. The rolling waves go almost as far as Taiwa. Thou art swept away towards the East, far and wide. Thou hast given me a mat to bear for love of thee, and that souvenir on thy part makes me happy when I tie it on my shoulders. When thou shalt arrive at the harbour whither thou art going, my affection will be there with thee.

Bugis.

Brani, my well beloved, I have climbed the steep mountain to follow thy departure with my eyes. The fiery winds of Outara (the North), father of tempests, wrought a deep impression on my soul, which is tortured because I know not thy fate. The roaring waves come to the great land, mother of Kalamatan (Borneo), coming each day to roll upon the beach, and thou, exile from thy country, sailing at the will of the winds, movest to trade at Tanna-Papoua (New Guinea), near the hills where the sun leaps up. On my shoulders floats the scarf (*sabok*) which thou didst wear; thou hast given it to me as a love token. Sweet token! On whatever shore thou art be faithful; everywhere my love follows thee constantly.

Can any of our friends having correspondents in the Celebes get the original of the Bugis song and ascertain its authenticity?—EDWARD TREGEAR.



JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

CONTAINING

THE TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

No. 2.—JULY 1892.—Vol. I.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

A meeting of the Council was held at Wellington on May 7th, 1892.

Letters were read from H.M. the Queen of Hawaii, accepting the position of Patron; from Dr. Bride, Librarian Public Library, Melbourne, presenting 2 volumes of *Studies of the Languages of the New Hebrides*; from the Under-Secretary of the Colony of New Zealand, presenting 4 volumes of White's *Ancient History of the Maori*; from Professor Otis Mason, accepting position of Corresponding Member, and forwarding five pamphlets on Anthropology; from E. F. Harris, presenting copies of *Old New Zealand*, a Maori Missal of 1847, and Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*; and from F. D. Fenton, accepting position of Honorary Member.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society, viz.—Arthur Jackson, Suva, Fiji.; Rev. O. P. Emerson, Honolulu; Taylor White, Wimbledon, Hawke's Bay, N.Z.; Harold Gurthenbank, Denham Court, Denham, Bucks, England; Te Heuheu Tukino, Taupo; Sir Walter L. Buller, K.C.M.G., F.R.S., Wellington; A. H. Turnbull, Bowen Street, Wellington.

A donation of weapons &c., from North Borneo, was made to the Society by Mr. N. Tone.

The following motions were proposed and carried:—That the title-page of the Society's Journal should receive the addendum of the words "Published Quarterly". That the price of the Journal should be fixed at two shillings and sixpence; members being allowed extra copies at one shilling each. That a list of those to whom journals had been sent should be entered in the minutes. That Mr. A. E. Petherick, Publisher, London, should be Agent for the Society.

Papers received: *Easter Island Inscriptions*, by Dr. Carrol, M.A., M.D.; *Rarotongan Genealogies*, No. 2, by H. Nicholas.

Papers in hand:—*Notes on Easter Island*, by E. Tregear; *Origin of the word "Maori,"* by A. S. Atkinson; *Codrington's Melanesian Anthropology*, by Rev. C. Murray; *Uea Island*, by S. P. Smith; *Physical Peculiarities of Polynesians*, by S. P. Smith; *Chatham Island Stone Implements*, by S. P. Smith; *Papers on the Line Islanders*.

A meeting of the Council was held in Wellington on May 28th, 1892. Letters were read from Rev. A. E. Claxton, Rev. D. Macdonald, New Hebrides; Mr. E. F. Harris, Gisborne; Professor W. D. Alexander, Honolulu, (covering donation of 3 volumes Fornander's *Polynesian Race*, from His Excellency, A. C. Wideman); Mr. J. C. Martin, Christchurch, and Mr. Bathgate.

Mr. J. R. Blair presented the Society with Tregear's *Maori-Polynesian Dictionary*, and Tregear's *Fairy Tales of New Zealand and the South Seas*.

The following new members were elected:—Rev. A. E. Claxton, Samoa, (now in London); A. Bathgate, Solicitor, &c., Dunedin, N.Z.; James Crosbie Martin, Crown Solicitor, Christchurch, N.Z.; John Sinclair, Solicitor, &c., Auckland.

Papers received since last meeting:—*Summer Migrants*, by Joshua Rutland; *The Rahui*, by Taylor White.



OUR SUMMER MIGRANTS (TO NEW ZEALAND).

BY JOSHUA RUTLAND.

TWO species of land birds, the Longtailed Cuckoo, *Eudynamis taitiensis*,* and the Shining Cuckoo, *Chrysococcyx lucidus*,† spend the summer months in New Zealand, the former wintering in Fiji, the Friendly Society, Marquesas, and Samoa Islands; the latter in New Caledonia, Australia, Tasmania, Java, and Sumatra.‡

With these birds it is evident the natives of Polynesia, Melanesia, and New Zealand, must have been acquainted from time immemorial, but only to the last-mentioned people could both species have been well known, for it is only in New Zealand and the Kermadec Islands they appear together. The Longtailed Cuckoo, being common to so many of the Polynesian groups, should in accordance with the Polynesian system of nomenclature have a common name, or similar names throughout the region; and if the New Zealand islands were originally peopled from any of the Polynesian islands frequented by it, the name it there bore would certainly have been conferred on it here. For example: *ruru* and *lulu* are the names by which the various species of owls found in New Zealand, Futuna, Samoa, Tonga, and Tahiti are generally known.

The Longtailed Cuckoo, being a very peculiar bird both in form and plumage, besides having a loud cry, which it constantly utters, day and night, on the wing and while at rest, could not fail to be immediately recognised by an observant people like the Maoris, if they had been acquainted with it in other lands.

In his manual of the New Zealand birds, Sir Walter Buller gives two Maori names for the *Eudynamis taitiensis*: *Koekoea* and *Koho-*

* Maori names: *Koekoea*, *Kohoperoa*, *Kohaperoa*, *Koheperoa*, and *Kawekawe*.

† Maori name: *Pipiwaharaura*, *Whakarauroa*.

‡ Mr. H. O. Forbes informs us that the *Chrysococcyx lucidus* does not range as far as Java and Sumatra.

peroa.* Whether the names are found amongst any Polynesian nation, or by what names the bird is known in its scattered winter quarters, I do not know; it is therefore with the hope of obtaining information I have ventured to call attention to the subject. If, in addition to the names, the exact distribution of the species during the winter season could be ascertained, the migratory bird might throw some light on the former movements of the ancient migrating people, with whom it has been so long associated. In the list of winter stations,—which has been taken from the manual referred to—the Harvey Islands are not included. Does the *Eudynamis Taitiensis* visit that group?

The historical importance of this question is obvious. The Shining Cuckoo, wintering in the Melanesian Islands where such a babel of tongues prevails, is not likely to yield much information, still it would be interesting to compare its appellations in the various groups it frequents, and to ascertain whether the New Zealand name *Piwiwharau* resembles any of them.

I have been informed by Mr. Edward Kenny of Queen Charlotte Sounds, that the Maoris lick the excrement of the Longtailed Cuckoo off the leaves of trees on which it has fallen, stating that it is sweet-tasted.† Some time ago I communicated this fact to Mr. H. O. Forbes, author of the “Naturalist in Java,”‡ as it offered an explanation of a fact observed by him. It would be useful to ascertain whether any of the Polynesian peoples have discovered the saccharine properties of the Cuckoo’s or other birds’ excrement. We know that many animals feed on the *feces* of other species, but as far as I am aware, amongst the races of mankind the Maori is unique in this respect.

The Longtailed Cuckoo is known in Tahiti by the name of ‘O’oea or *Pareva* (called by Lesson and Sparman, *Cuculus taitiensis*), and the first of these names is nearly identical with one of the Maori names for the bird, *i.e.*, *Koekoea*, which will be readily seen by replacing the dash in ‘o’oea with a “k” which letter the Tahitians do not pronounce. The bird is known in Nanomanga (one of the Ellis Group) as *Areva*, see “Jottings from the Pacific,” by Dr. Wyatt Gill, page 25, and this name is probably a variant of the Tahitian *Pareva*. In Samoa it is called *Aleva*, almost identical with the Nanomanga name.

One of the favourite landing places of the Shining Cuckoo (*Piwiwharau*) is on Maunganui Bluff, 25 miles south of Hokianga, where in spring time, the pretty little birds may be seen in numbers after their long flight from Australia, generally in a state of exhaustion.—EDITORS.

* Although it is probable that this name—Kohoperoa—is not now retained in any of the dialects of the Islands, the words *Hope-roa* are known in Tahiti, where *Hope* means tail, and *roa* long, hence the name “longtail,” a very appropriate one for the bird. The Maori has retained the word *hope* in the name of the bird, but has otherwise lost the meaning as “tail.”—EDITORS.

† The Maori was in the habit of treating the excrement of the Korimako in the same manner.—EDITORS.

‡ See “Darwinism,” by A. R. Wallace, chapter viii.



WHAT IS A 'TANGATA MAORI?

BY A. S. ATKINSON.

I ASK this question, intending to lay stress on the last word of it, and with the hope of evoking a discussion on the meaning of the word *Maori*. In what sense did the natives of New Zealand use the word before the advent of Europeans?

At the present time, the word *Maori* is used generally by both races in these islands, either 1st, as a noun to denote an aboriginal native of New Zealand in distinction to an Englishman or other recent immigrant; or 2nd, as an adjective, for everything relating to the former, as distinguished from all relating to the latter.

This use of the word is supported by its practical utility; is there any authority beyond one passage of very doubtful antiquity in White's *Ancient History of the Maori*, (III. 116.) tending to show that in this sense it is not quite modern.

I propose in this paper to put together a few native sentences which I have so far collected, and in which the word *Maori*, has preserved—I would suggest—an earlier and more general meaning than that now prevalent, yet one from which the latter might easily arise.

It may be convenient if I preface my quotations by saying that the most general meaning which they seem to show as attributable to the word *Maori*, is, “common”, “ordinary”; and it is used as these two words are at different times in English, that is sometimes with an implication of disparagement, sometimes of praise; while sometimes again it is used simply, without implication of either kind.

The first quotation refers to Maui's invention of the barbed point to the bird-spear: “*Na Maui te here i mahia ki te [kia?] taratara te koinga; a ko Irawaru i kore ai e mahi i tana kia taratara, he mea waiho Maori noa iho te pito o tana tahere, na reira i kore ai e mau he manu ma Irawaru*”, &c. White, A. H. (II. 111.) “Maui's was the bird-spear

whose point was barbed; but Irawaru did not barb his, its point was left in common style, (unimproved; Mr. White says, "had none on his"); hence it did not secure the birds for Irawaru."

The same meaning of common, unimproved, appears in the next also, which is only a compound name *Te Ruahine-mata-Maori*. White, *A. H.*, II. 50 and 54, where according to Mr. White the same meaning appears, "common, unimproved;" he translates the name in one place (*trans.* 55) as "name of the common face;" and in another (*ib.* 59) as "old woman of the untattooed face."

In a passage in Sir George Grey's "*Moteatea*," p. 25, the small inconspicuous stars are called *whetu maori*, (lit. maori stars) as being, I presume, common, ordinary, when compared with the great ones, such as *Rehua*, (which there no doubt, designates one of the brighter planets, probably Jupiter).

In describing the practice of a war-party, it is said, (White, *A. H.* I. 35) "*Ka kainga e te tohunga te manawa o te mataika, katahi ka kai katoa te iwi i te kai maori.*" "the heart of the first slain of the enemy is eaten by the priest:" [Mr. White continues] "and not until he had eaten it could the army partake of ordinary food"—the last two words translating the words *kai Maori*.

In the *Maori Messenger* for July 16, 1863, p. 17, there is a letter from a native referring to the land dispute heard at Auckland, between *Te Tirarau* and *Ngapuhi*, and saying that the Government had provided (two) vessels to take the disputants home. He goes on:—"*Ko tetahi he tima; i a Te Tirarau ma te tima. Ko te kaupuke maori i Ngapuhi, ko te ingoa o taua kaupuke ko Wikitoria.*" "One (of these vessels) was a steamer, *Te Tirarau* and his people had that; *Ngapuhi* had the sailing-ship (lit. Maori ship, common ship), the name of which was *Victoria*." Here the class "ship," *kaupuke*, is divided into two; the extraordinary one, the steamer, is given its specific name, the common sailing vessel is called a *maori* ship, though so far as one can judge from the narrative, it was *maori* only in being of the then much commoner kind.

A story is told in the *Ancient History*, vol. IV. p. 183, how *Taraao*, being besieged, escaped by means of a tunnel which he made from his *pa*, under his enemies to a safe distance beyond them. His people hear his conch-shell trumpet sound, the agreed signal that he had got away, and the story continues:—"Kua puta a ia ki waho i te pito o te rua, kua ora a ia, kua haere maori noa iho i te koraha;" "He had got safely out at the end of his tunnel, and was travelling in ordinary fashion across the open country." It will be noticed that in this sentence, the word *maori* is used adverbially with *haere*; *Taraao's* journey, so far as it was accomplished by means of his tunnel, was naturally looked on as out of the common; when he had got through this, he resumed the ordinary practice of travellers.

The expression, *te ao maori*, appears usually to mean this common, familiar world, where men live, as distinguished from the dwelling-place of the gods. See White, *A. H. I.* 34, 35, &c. In the same work, Vol. V. p. 106, a passage occurs referring to Captain Cook and his men; there was no doubt they were *tupua*, beings like men but not genuinely human; from another world, yet not such *tupua* as are the maori gods, "*inahoki e kai ana i nga kai o te ao maori nei*," "inasmuch as they eat the food of this ordinary (or real, or human) world." The maori gods were accustomed to eat only the shadow of their food, while the British sailors eat the substance also.

Here the first *maori* (in *atua maori*) is probably as now, almost always antithetical to *pakeha*, or foreign, while the second (in *ao maori*) is used I submit, to distinguish this real or familiar world of substance from the imaginary, or at least unfamiliar, world of shadows.

The same contrast is, I think, well brought out in a passage in Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* (part II. 174.) Kahukura has come upon the place where the *Patupaiarehe* or "fairies" have been cleaning their fish. His first thought is that these traces have been left by ordinary (or real) men ("*hua noa na te tangata maori*"); but at last he comes to a contrary conclusion in these words:—"E hara i te mahi tangata maori, na te atua tenei mahinga; mehemea na te tangata, e kitea te whariki o te waka." Sir G. Grey translates:—"These are no mortals who have been fishing here—spirits must have done this; had they been men, some of the reeds and grass which they sat on in their canoe would have been lying about." Referring to the original it will be seen that the writer uses *tangata maori* as an emphatic form of *tangata*, and both as meaning man, human being, as distinguished from spirit, or god, &c., from other beings, that is, having the form, and sometimes receiving the general name of man, (*tangata*) but not being man in the common and true sense.

Dr. Codrington (Mel. Lang. p. 82 and 467) makes a noteworthy observation:—"When white men first appear to Melanesians they are taken for ghosts, dead men come back; when white men ask the natives what *they* are, they proclaim themselves to be men, not ghosts." This was in its main outlines, certainly true of several parts of Polynesia, and probably of Oceania generally—the notion I mean, on the first appearance of the white man that he was not an ordinary or real human being as they were themselves; the latter proposition as to what they themselves were, being appropriately expressed—I would suggest—by the natives of New Zealand, and perhaps by all the other Polynesians with the help of the word *maori*, used mainly as an intensive to emphasize the fact of their humanity.

It is noticeable also that in a part of Melanesia a word possibly related, is used for the same purpose—*Ta* being man, (=Polynesian *tangata*) and *ta mate*, dead man, ghost, or white man, the native him-

self, according to Dr. Codrington, is a "*ta mole*, a bare man," [a mere man] "nothing else, not a ghost or spirit." (Mel. Lang. 467.) In the word *maori* the first syllable *ma* is presumably the common and very widely spread "prefix of quality." Whether this or its equivalent *mo* appears, wholly or partially, in *moli* I cannot pretend to say, as for one thing I do not even know whether the *o* of *moli* is long (=oo) or not, but in any case, if as is probably inevitable, we have to take *ōri* as the radical part of *maori*, it may also be found that *ōli* is as truly the radical in the Sesake *moli*, as it is in the Hawaiian *maoli*: compare also, (besides others) the Tongan *moonī* real, true. But though much light may be looked for from this side of the question if properly treated, to discuss it reasonably is only possible after, or as a part of, a general discussion of the nature and relation *inter se* of the Polynesian, not to say Oceanic radicals.

From what I have said it will be understood that the answer I should propose to my own question, is, that a *tangata maori* meant emphatically a human being; not a human being of the Polynesian race as distinguished from some other human being of another race; but a common or real human being as distinguished from a being, human indeed in form, but not in fact. It seems easy to suppose that from this use the word might become a race-name so soon as another race came permanently on the scene, and its common humanity—denied at first—came afterwards to be recognised. On the other hand the converse process does not seem at all easy to suppose, namely, that a race-name should come to be applied, by the bearers of it, to such uses as I have mentioned. If *maori* properly meant an aboriginal native of New Zealand, or of Polynesia, how came fresh water to be called *wai maori* or *maori* water; or the smaller stars, *maori* stars; or an un-tattooed face a *maori* face, and so on?

In conclusion may I ask any of your readers interested in the question to offer any criticism they may think appropriate on what is here said; and also especially, to put on record any other instances they may know of the use of the word *maori* in New Zealand, or of any word they may think akin to it—any word like it in form or function—in any cognate dialect out of New Zealand, in all cases giving translations and any necessary explanations.





“THE MELANESIANS:

STUDIES IN THEIR ANTHROPOLOGY AND FOLK-LORE.”

R. H. CODRINGTON, D.D.

Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891.

AFTER perusal, one lays down this book thinking how well Dr. Codrington has succeeded in making the natives tell their own tale. The volume is the production of one who has associated much with natives representative of the islands treated of, and who has been a sympathetic but keen observer of native life and character. So clear is the picture that one can almost see the people as they live from day to day, and listen to their hearty laughter, their quaint humour and jokes, amid all the oppression of their superstitious fears and dread of charm, witchcraft, ghosts, and the supernatural power, *mana*. The information submitted is limited, with specified exceptions, to the Solomon Islands, the Santa Cruz Group, the Banks' and Torres Islands, and the three north-eastern islands of the New Hebrides—Aurora or Maewo, Oba, and Pentecost or Araga, Raga, or even Ra. Of these and adjacent islands an excellent map is given. Difference of custom prevailing to a greater or less extent on the various islands, makes generalisations beyond the specified area unsafe; therefore the limitation, which is carefully observed throughout, is important.

Of the features of native life within this area, the author has given a very comprehensive account. There is possibly not a phase omitted. The reader has been introduced into the sacred enclosures; he has been told the significance of the awful mysteries; he has been permitted to penetrate the very holy of holies; and all without having to pay the usual impost of a pig, with a single or double-circled tusk. This information is valuable, for within these sacred precincts, where the initiated talk with bated breath, the unhallowed foot is not allowed to penetrate. Only those who have lived on those heathen islands, and experienced how hard it is to

gain admission, can appreciate the value of the information conveyed, and the obligations under which Dr. Codrington has placed all enquirers into Melanesian lore. From the august mysteries on the one hand, the reader is led, on the other, to view the light-hearted boys throwing their reeds—*tika* or *serimta*—in their games.

A question, however, may here be well raised as to the value of the evidence on which this book is largely based. Most of the author's information, as stated in the preface, has been derived from pupils brought to Norfolk Island for religious instruction. Now, what reliance is to be placed upon such testimony? This mode of acquiring information has its disadvantages as well as advantages. One of the weaknesses of the method is alluded to by the author himself in introducing the subject—Religion, chapter VII., "Converts," he says, "are disposed to blacken generally and indiscriminately their own former state. . . . There are some things they are really ashamed to speak of; there are others which they think they ought to consider wrong, because they are associated in their memory with what they know to be really bad." From converts on Norfolk Island it is therefore difficult to obtain absolutely correct information. Under any circumstances, as pointed out by Dr. Codrington, it is most difficult to obtain accurate knowledge of the natives' religious beliefs; but unquestionably the best and most reliable method would be to live constantly among the heathen natives on their own islands. Fair and considerate treatment of the people will secure their respect and confidence, and an insight into their beliefs and practices will thus be gradually and slowly gained. This means years of patient labour. Patience, vigilance of observation, and a quiet mental noting of every new word uttered and unusual phrase, every novel action, will alone combat what Dr. Codrington has truthfully classed among the barriers to the acquisition of religious knowledge. The natural reserve of the heathen on the one hand, and the unreliable material submitted by the heathen to amuse himself and dupe the injudicious enquirer on the other, can best be overcome in the manner indicated. Even natives are not always on their guard, and will unwittingly drop a hint which, to the keen enquirer wisely handling the matter, will prove an invaluable clue to the significance of religious belief and practice. A systematic course of questioning is to be deprecated, because it is admitted a native will answer just as he thinks his questioner would want him, and not according to fact. Besides, every fact elicited has to be tested again and again with men of every rank and condition. Now, at Norfolk Island, this course is not possible to the same extent. The number of converts from any one island must be limited, and probably restricted to the more promising lads. For purposes of testing, dull men are valuable as well as keen, for they will speak out of the simplicity of their heart, more

freely, without admixture of apocryphal matter. Besides, if dull men converse intelligently with the enquirer upon those occult subjects, it may be safely concluded the information gained is satisfactory. One more point as to the value of a convert's evidence. Natives from one island, from feelings of rivalry, would naturally seek to assimilate their beliefs and practices with those of other islands, so as not to be left behind in honourable distinction. Independent testimony is not, therefore, so likely to be found on Norfolk Island, where beliefs and practices are mutually known, as on the islands where the natives are, as it were, *in situ*, and ignorant of "comparative religion."

Though this much is said calling in question the value of the evidence, it must be understood that the bulk of the information conveyed seems thoroughly reliable. Complete verification of the facts in the volume can be given only by one who is familiar with the languages, life and practice of the natives within the area specified, and few indeed, if any, have these qualifications. The conclusion as to the reliability of the information in "The Melanesians" is based on the measure of correspondence between the facts there recorded, and those obtaining in adjacent islands.

After interesting introductory matter on the discovery and natural history of the islands, the author in the second chapter launches into the complex subject of "Social Regulations." Judging from the obscurity of the subject on some other islands, this seems to partake of the nature of a disclosure. The relationship is occult among the islands in the more southern New Hebrides, and in conversation with ordinarily intelligent men, who had lived for over twenty years in the southern islands, though most other subjects were discussed, the existence of such intricate relationships was never once hinted at, and I must confess this elaborate system of social regulations has never forced itself upon my own observation. Yet on the islands enumerated, the social conditions may well be such as the author indicates, and wanting on other islands because the customs of the people differ so. These regulations may even obtain on other islands, and the men of over twenty years experience may have lacked the necessary anthropological insight. Yet against his assertion on page 229, that in the Banks' Islands female children were "rather preserved because of the family passing through the female side" as an evidence of this regulation, the position of female children in the island of Aneityum may be adduced. It is recorded on trustworthy authority, that there "the birth of a female child is accompanied by no demonstration of parental joy, and in many instances its death warrant is signed at a tender age." There at least the female side of the house does not seem to be held in great esteem.

The true position and power of a chief in a native's eyes is well set

forth as based not upon any political supremacy, but upon the supernatural power believed to be derived by them from the spirits or ghosts with which they had intercourse. The rights of property next treated of are such as are observed every day in these islands, though the subject of relationship is again introduced in connection with its transmission.

The secret societies and mysteries are well elucidated, and that madcap, "Tamate", (Ambrim, "Tamake") of whom various sketches are given, a figure startling to the stranger as he rushes in his grotesque disguise all of a sudden upon him, has been interestingly treated. What this mysterious being, "if bird or devil," really was, could not, I think, have been a very serious problem. On an absolutely heathen island I have heard the young lads discussing what particular native it was, as he rushed wildly around, to their great alarm. It is possible more significance attaches to Tamake's actions, however, and indeed to all native observances, than Dr. Codrington has allowed. The traditional account of the origin of Tamake corresponds, allowance being made for difference of subject, to some extent with the traditional origin of another institution of great importance, at least on the islands of Epi and Ambrim. This institution is known on both islands as the "Luan." A peculiar drum-beating is heard proceeding from a little sacred house. In answer to enquiries as to its nature and meaning the one answer is invariably given: "It is Luan." The sound is also said to be produced "*lon Luan*," in Luan. The traditional origin has it, that, one day a party of men heard a peculiar sound far into the bush. They had never heard anything like it before. On approaching they found it was produced by a woman with a reed. The men got the woman to teach them, and having learned the art, they agreed to say, "Now, this will be our secret," and to prevent it being divulged they put the woman to death. So the secret of Luan is confined to the male sex. Compare Dr. Codrington's account of the origin of Tamake, p. 76. It might be interesting to know how far women have been concerned in the origin of institutions now restricted to men. Though I have seen numbers of *Tamakes* on the island of Ambrim, and been the possessor of a couple, I have never, as Dr. Codrington (p. 84), seen a Tamake mask "fashioned upon a skull with a wig of hair, and decorated with boars' tusks" on that island. They have invariably been rudely carved tree fern with shred fibres of banana leaf for hair, and without the specified decorations.

The subject of "Religion" with its cognate matter of sacrifices, prayers, spirits, &c., is for the reasons indicated very difficult. In view of the difficulties, it is pardonable in the author to "disclaim pretensions to accuracy or completeness," To correct or amplify the author's account, the evidence of one who has lived and investigated for years the religious practices of the people in the islands enumerated is greatly desiderated. It is improbable that any one has fulfilled the

conditions. Independent testimony of residents may in time correct or amplify the information in these chapters, and for this, through the encroachments of civilisation, the opportunities are fast passing away ; but for the present, the account in "The Melanesians" is by far the fullest and most reliable. The opinion confirmed by Dr. Codrington, that the images found in these islands are not idols, but conventional representations of deceased ancestors, is gaining supporters. Besides being concerned with the ghosts of ancestors and spirits that never were men, something might be said for the religion of the people embracing a Sun or Baal worship to some extent. The true nature and comprehensiveness of the Melanesian religion can be reached only when the life and thought of every tribe of every island have been fully investigated, and the result thrown into some such common fund as the "Polynesian Society," to be submitted to comparative examination. No one man is able to accomplish this. At present therefore our knowledge of the Melanesian religion is incomplete, and lacking thorough substantiation. In affording information on this subject to be confirmed or refuted hereafter, Dr. Codrington has ably done his part, but the generalisations are not closed.

The bondage of magic and charm, which subjects bulk big in native life, has been entered fully into. The course of a Melanesian's life, from his birth to his burial,—embracing the subjects of childhood, chastity, betrothal, marriage, harlotry, adultery, polygamy, polyandry, and the practices and beliefs connected with death and the future life,—has been treated in detail, and seems to correspond in general with the modes of life on other islands. It is important for the student of comparative religion to know that the subject of eschatology is retained by the natives in their theological system. Not only is there a conception of life after death, but—as in the "Gorgias" of Plato—though not so thorough in moral distinctions, there is a system of retribution. The morally good find ready access to *Panoi*, the abode of the blessed ; but for the morally bad, the path to the true *Panoi* is guarded by the shades of the men they had murdered or wronged. The morally bad, in their division of *Panoi*, "quarrel and lie in misery, not in physical pain, but restless, homeless, malignant, pitiable ; these are they who eat excrement, and open their mouths for wind ; these are they who do harm to the living out of spite, who are dreaded as eating men's souls, who haunt the graves and woods." It is important to note moral distinctions are found among a people to whom they have been often denied. This point is confirmed by evidence outside the present volume. The description of the arts of life—dances, music, and games—shows accurate and careful observation. The author agrees with the recent belief that the so called poisoned arrows are not tipped with poison. Scientific examination pronounces them non-poisonous. To a native's

mind, the danger lies mainly in their being charged with the supernatural power, *mana*. This is sufficient to account for their great urgency to the careful handling of these weapons by a European.

The drums of Ambrim, topped by rudely carved faces, are classed "Musical Instruments." Doubtless they are so used at the *Sing-sings*; but they serve a more useful purpose not noted by the author. These drums form the telegraphic system on that island. Friendly visits, feasts, war, death, the approach of ghosts, &c., can be thus announced.

Very interesting matters are dealt with under the heading "Miscellaneous." The concluding chapter comprises an excellent collection of most interesting tales of the fancy and imagination. There is a similarity between some of them and tales on other islands. They are valuable as showing the natives' idea of the origins of existing things; and, in the animal stories, their humour and ingenuity.

From the summary of subjects now given, it will be seen how comprehensive the volume under consideration is. Each subject reveals observation, learning, and ability. It will be a book of great value to anthropologists, and a fertile field of illustrations for comparative studies. We expect to see this very interesting and solid work of full 400 pages largely drawn upon in scientific treatises on Primitive Culture. Probably, for some time to come, it will remain the standard work on Melanesian Anthropology within the prescribed area. The book is made still more interesting by 33 illustrations, from sketches, and photographs. No member of the "Polynesian Society" should fail to read it. An *erratum*, page 13, reduces the height of the Ambrim Volcano by 1,000 feet, making it 2,500 feet instead of 3,500 feet.

CHARLES MURRAY, M.A.





THE LAND OF OUR ORIGIN.

(VITI, OR FIJI.)

BY BASIL THOMPSON, ESQ.

THE following tradition was supplied in the original by Jonacani Dabea, of the Island of Bega, one branch of the Davutukia Tribe, who occupy the south-western part of Viti-levu. Vuda Point, mentioned as the landing-place, is the north-western point of Viti-levu. The Nakauvandra Range is about thirty miles east of Vuda. It is the home of Fijian mythology, and was recently the site of a recrudescence of a heathen cult similar to the *hauhau* of the Maoris, in which Ndengei reappears as the father of Jehovah and Jesus. To the incident of the shooting of Turukawa a number of old myths are attached. According to another version, Ndengei was a serpent lying asleep in a great cave, and awakened only by the cooing of the pigeon Turukawa. When he turned his mighty coils the earth trembled. The archers who shot Turukawa were his two sons, and in his anger he went to war with them, and they fled to Vannalevu. The route given, from Nakauvandra to Vitu, is eastward down the Wainibuka, one of the sources of the Rewa.

Seeing how trivial are the causes that lead to war among primitive peoples, and how any incident causing dissension would stand out against the background of monotony, there is little doubt that the god Ndengei was once a man—deified because he was the embodiment of the ancestral spirit—and that his favourite pigeon was really shot, and his people divided in consequence.

A canoe drifting from the westward, perhaps in one of the westerly gales, that last occasionally for two weeks, would naturally fetch Vuda; and evidence that the ancestors of the Fijians came from the westward is supplied in the fact that the Thombothombo, or place where the spirits leap into the sea to return to the other world, faces

westwards. The place whence they came would be invested by tradition with virtues unknown in the place of their adoption, and their spirits would naturally return to it after death. This tradition records one of the immigrations of Melanesians. It is for one of your members to identify Malake*

TRANSLATION.

It is said that the ancestors of the Fijians of to-day drifted to a land called Malake, and that after abiding there for a time they sailed and drifted till they came ashore on a point to the westward (on Viti-levu). There they disembarked, and built houses, and dwelt; and their numbers increased, and they therefore called the name of that place Vuda (lit: our origin). And while they dwelt there they saw the tops of high mountains inland, and they ascended them. And there they found a mountain top, where they dwelt and built houses. And the name of that mountain was Nakauvandra (Pandanus tree). And there they dwelt for a time: and the chief to whom they paid tribute (did homage) at that time was named Ndengei†, and he had a pigeon that used to wake him called Turukawa. And a day came when Ndengei sought for Turukawa, his awakener, for he had not cried as was his wont; and he ordered them to enquire of the archers Nacurukaumoli and Nakausabaria, saying, "Let one go and ask if they have shot Turukawa." But they denied it; but it was they in truth who had shot him; and at last it became known that it was they. This was the beginning of the discord at Nakauvandra. And they scattered; and some went down and settled on a streamlet, and two of them built houses there together—the ancestor of Rewa and the ancestor of Verata; and to this day they use this interjection, when a Rewan meets a Veratan he cries, "Citizen of the foundation," and the Veratan answers "Citizen of the foundation," because they two had but one house-foundation in the mountains (Iholo).

And they left that place, and went down and settled in another place called Viti (Fiji). [This place is on the Upper Rewa in the canefields of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, near Viria. An ancient village site can still be traced.] And while there they saw a hill-top, and some said that they should climb it, and examine from

* We would specially ask our members in the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands if the name Malake is known to any of the natives of those islands.—EDITORS.

† It has been asserted that Ndengei is the Melanesian form of Tangaroa of Polynesian myths.—EDITORS.

thence the lands to the seawards, and the other lands. And they climbed it: and when they came back this was their report: "There are many rich lands below us, and the ocean and some islands." Then they prepared to abandon Viti to go and people the lands they had seen from the hill-top: now the name of that hill-top is Narairai* There is one close to the site of Viti.

(look-out place). Then they left Viti and scattered, each going to the land that he had chosen; and they divided, some going to the coast, and some remaining among the mountains; but it is certain that the people on the coast, and the people in the mountains to-day are akin.

A VANUA EDA A VU MAIKINA.

E kainaki sa ciri mai na kawa ni tamata sa tiko e Viti, ka ra sa mai tiko mai e dua na vanua na Tacana ko Malake; era sa tikotiko mai Malake ka ra sa ciri sobu ka ra sa qai la'ki takasa ki na dua na ucuna mai Ra. Era sa mani sobu ki vanua ka ra sa tiko kina ka tara koro kina, ka sa mani tubu kina na tamata me lelevu mai, ka sa mani yaca ni vanua ko ya ko Vuda. Ia ni ra sa tiko dede kina era sa qai raica na veiulu ni vanua cecere eso era sa qai cabe cake, ka ra sa la'ki kunea e dua na ulu ni vanua, era sa mani tiko kina me tara eso na nodra vale. Ia na yaca ni ulu ni vanua ko ya ko Nakauvadra. Era sa tiko vakadede vakalailai; sa qai dua na nodra turaga era qarava tiko na yacana ko Degai. Ia ka sa qai dua na nonai vakayadrayadra e dua na sogi ne yacana ko Turukawa. Ia e na dua na siga sa qara ko Degai ni sa sega ni tagi ko Turukawa na nonai vakayadrayadra: sa vaka ko koya me rau la'ki tarogi mada na dau vavana; ia na yacadrau na dau vavana ko Nacurukaumoli kei Nakausabaria, ka sa vaka ko Degai, "E dua mada e tarogi rau koi rau ka rau vanai Turukawa." Ka rau sa mani cakitaka ga vua. Ia koi rau dina ga ka rau vana. Ia sa qai kilai e muri ni sai rau dina ga ka vanai Turukawa, ia na ka ogo sa tubu kina na veicati e na nodra tiko mai Nakauvadra. Ka ra sa mani veiseyaki kina, ka ra sa se sobu mai ka ra mai tiko e na dua na drekeniwai lailai, ka rau sa mai tara vale vata kina e lewe rua me dua na vale ko koya na kai Rewa kei na kai Verata. Sa tu ga na kenai kacikacivaki vaka ogo: e kaya na kai Verata vei koya na gone ni Rewa, "Kai vuni yavu." Qai kaya na kai Rewa, "Kai vuni yavu," ni sa dua bau ga na nodrau yavu ni vale mai Colo.

Ka ra sa qai biuta tale na vanua ko ya ka ra lako sobu tale mai ka ra sa mai tiko tale e na dua na vanua, ai na yaca ni vanua era sa mai tiko kina ko Viti. Ia ni ra sa rai tale ki muri era sa raica tale e dua

* Many of the hill-tops on the course of the Rewa River are called Narairai.

na ulu ni vanua ka sa kaya eso me so mada me ra la'ki rai toka mai na ulu ni vanua ko ya me vakaraica na vanua ki wai kei na vei vanua eso. Ia ni ra sa tale mai era sa mai tukutuku tale sa vaka ogo na nodrai tukutuku. "Sa qai ka levu na vei vanua vinaka sa tu sobu ki ra ogo, na wasawasa kei na yanuyanano eso." Sa ra qai vakarau me vakalala na vanua ko ya ko Viti, me ra la'ki tawana na vanua era sa raica e na ulu ni vanua ko ya ; ia ka sa yaca ni ulu ni vanua koya ko Nairairai. Ka ra sa qai dui lako ka biuti Viti ka ra sa qai la'ki tiko ki na vanua era sa dui digia me ra tiko kina ka ra sa tawase ga, eso e lako mai ki waitui, ka so e tiko mai Colo ; ka sa macala ga era sa kai vata ga kei ira ka tiko mai Colo kei ira ka tiko e waitui e na gauna ogo.





THE FALL OF MAUNGA-A-KAHIA PA, NEW ZEALAND.

BY TIMI WATA RIMINI.

THE following is an account of an incident in the early history of the Maoris, which took place shortly after the arrival of one of the historical canoes at New Zealand. This canoe was Takitumu, and the principal chief on board was Tamatea-pokai-whenua, so named on account of his travels in this country. The crew of Takitumu settled down on the East Coast of the North Island, and from them are descended—in part—the great tribe of Ngatikahungunu, who derive their name from Kahungunu, a son of Tamatea's, and whose tribe occupies, at the present day, the whole of the country from some distance north of Gisborne right down to Wairarapa, near Wellington. Even at the present day, when most of their lands have been sold to European colonists, and after having suffered that sad decrease in numbers which always follows contact with the white race, they number as many as any tribe in New Zealand. As has been said, Kahungunu was the son of Tamatea, and he it was who lived in the *pa* of Maunga-a-kahia, which is situated on Te Mahia peninsula, near Nukutaurua, at the north side of Hawke's Bay. The fall of Kahungunu's *pa* would not, therefore, have taken place at a later date than about the end of the fifteenth century, certainly not more than 50 years after the arrival of Takitumu. I have endeavoured to show, in another place, that, by allowing 20 years to a generation, and taking the mean of a large number of genealogies, the approximate date of the arrival of the historical canoes—of which Takitumu is one—should be placed about the year 1480. Many of my correspondents are persuaded that 20 years is too short a period to allow for a generation; be it so, but until we can agree on what is a fair approximation, I

adhere to my previous calculations for the sake of consistency ; it will be easy to alter the dates when the time comes. As will be seen by the story which follows, Kahungunu's daughter (Tauhei-kuri) was a woman grown when the siege of her father's *pa* took place ; hence it is probable that about fifty years had elapsed since her grandfather landed in New Zealand. This would make the date of the siege about 1480.*

There are one or two points which I particularly wish to bring out, in connection with this story, or history, as it really is, for there can be little doubt of the truth of the main features, which are preserved alike by the descendants of the besieged and the besiegers, each being a distinct tribe, and living in different parts of the country, at the present day.

The first of these points is, that we find in the second generation after the arrival of the Maoris in this country, that the numbers of the people are very great—*mano tini*, says the story—or “numberless.” It is impossible that these *mano tini* can have crossed the seas in Takitumu, or that in three generations the descendants of those who came in that canoe can have increased to the numbers herein referred to. Nor was Maunga-a-kahia the only residence of the tribe ; their histories speak of people living all along that part of the coast in the first and second generation from Tamatea, indeed we find that he himself, on his extensive travels, found people wherever he went, people who knew the country and had paths by which to get from one place to another, and canoes on the rivers and lakes. Again, where do the besiegers come from if, as stated, they were in great numbers at the time of the siege ? The obvious answer to this is that New Zealand was occupied by large numbers of a branch of the Polynesian race ages before the Maoris arrived here in what we call the “historical canoes,” at the time of the *heke* or migration in about the year 1430. It would hardly be necessary to refer to this fact, were it not the universal belief of all writers on this subject up to within the last few years, that the Maoris were the only people from whom the present inhabitants are descended. Abundant evidence to the contrary is fast accumulating, some of which I hope to adduce in support of this theory in later numbers of this Journal.

* It must be patent to all that dates fixed by generations can only be very rough approximations, but still they are the *only* data we are ever likely to have for determining epochs in Polynesian history. By two lines of descent from Tutamure, which I have given in the notes, the number of generations down to 1850 are 17 and 16 respectively, which would make the date of the siege somewhat later, or about 1520.

A second point which this history brings out is the notable fact that in those days the people had already found the necessity of living in fortified *pas*, a further proof of an abundant population. It is probable the *pa*, such as it is found in New Zealand, is a peculiarity of these islands. With perhaps the solitary exception of Rapa-iti, or Oparo Island, there is nothing like it in the rest of Polynesia. These forts arose out of the necessities of the surroundings.

The history also tells us, by implication, of another fact. In the weapons mentioned in the *whakatauki*, or proverbial saying uttered by Tu-tamure, no mention is made of the *pounamu* or greenstone *mere*. Is it possible that this beautiful stone had not at that time come into common use for weapons or ornaments? Some things favour this view, but against it is the fact of the voyage of Ngahue, an event which took place long prior to the times of this story, and the object of which, I believe, was the desire to acquire some of that valuable stone.

The other points which this story illustrates directly, are the remarkable self-sacrifice of Tu-tamure in giving up the lady Turei-kuri to his younger brother, and his equally remarkable honesty in confessing that his ugliness was a sufficient warrant for the preference she showed. The transference of a chieftainess to the conqueror as a wife was a common mode of cementing a peace. The Hon. Major Ropata Wahawaha, M.L.C., tells me that this lady had a son named Mahaki, whom he claims as an ancestor, as also does Wi Pere, lately a member of the House of Representatives, and both of whom are well-known chiefs of Ngatikahungunu and Ngatiporou. The former also told me, on my asking how he explained the numbers of people at that time living here, that they were mostly the original people of New Zealand, whom the Maoris found here on their arrival.

S. PERCY SMITH.

KO TE HORONGA O MAUNGA-A-KAHIA.

Ko tenei pa ko Maunga-a-kahia, na Ngatikahungunu; na Tu-tamure i whawhai inamata. I te wa ka haere mai nga mano tini o te ope a Tu-tamure ki te whawhai i tenei pa, ka karapotia e nga mano tini o Tu-tamure. He nui nga marama i karapotia ai; kua riro katoa nga kai o waho o te pa i te taua, me te wai hoki. Kua kore e taea iho e te hunga o te pa.

Ka whakaaro a Tu-tamure kua mate taua hunga i te hemo kai, i te mate wai hoki. Katahi ka whakahaua tana ope kia hurihia taua pa

nui, katahi ka kokiri nga matua ki te whawhai i taua pa. He mano tini hoki kei roto i te pa.

Kihai i wheau, ka horo te maioro tuatahi, ka horo te maioro tuarua, ka horo te maioro tuatoru, ka horo te maioro tuawha. Me te whati haere nga mano tini o te pa ki runga ki te tihi o te pa. Ka whaia ake, ka horo tetahi o nga maioro. Ano ka memene katoa nga mano tini o te pa ra ki runga ki te tihi o te pa. Ka whakaaro a Tu-tamure kua horo i aia tenei pa nui whakaharahara.

Katahi a Tu-tamure ka whakatauki ake: "Taua i te hua, taua i te ake, tikina ki te ika, pupuhi-nui-a-Tu, mau ana te pa horo ki runga o Maunga-a-kahia."¹

Katahi ka whakaaro te rangatira o te pa ra—a Kahu-ngunu—kua horo tona pa, kua mate katoa hoki ratou ko tona iwi. Katahi ka patai iho ki te ope: "Nawai tenei ope?" Ka whakahokia ake e Tu-tamure: "Kaore ano koe i rongo noa, 'Ka rangaranga te muri, ka tu nga tua-tara o tamure?'"² Katahi ka mohio te rangatira o te pa na Tu-tamure taua ope. Katahi ka ki iho taua rangatira o te pa—a Kahu-ngunu—ki a Tu-tamure: "E kore ranei e rongo i a koe, tenei ope nui e karapoti nei i toku pa, te mea kia hoki atu ratou ki waho?" Ka whakahokia ake e Tu-tamure: "Ki te ki iho ahau ki tenei ope nui e karapoti i tou pa, ka hoki katoa atu ratou ki waho." Na, whakahau atu ana a Tu-tamure ki nga rangatira o tana ope kia puta katoa atu ratou ki waho o te pa, kia mutu hoki te whawhai ki taua pa. Na, whati katoa atu ana tana ope ki waho o taua pa, noho pai ai. Ano ka rupeke taua ope ki waho o te tahitahi o te pa noho ai, inamata ka heke iho te rangatira o taua pa—a Kahu-ngunu—raua tahi ko tana tahine ko Turei-kuri ki roto ki te ope. Rokohanga iho e noho tahi ana a Tu-tamure raua ko tana taina, ko Taipunua. Katahi ka hoatu tana tamahine ma Tu-tamure; e noho puhi tonu hoki a tua-wahine (pera me Hinemoa).³

Ko te wahine ra, ka noho ai ki waenganui o nga tangata o te ope; katahi te wahine ra ka whakahinga ke atu ki runga ki te taina o Tu-tamure, ki a Taipunua. Ka whakaaro te taniwha nei—a Tu-tamure—kua raru ia. Katahi ka whakatika i runga ki to ratou nohoanga, ka haere atu ki tatahi ki runga ki tetahi haupapa kohatu; rokohanga atu e tere ana tetahi kopua wai i runga i te haupapa kohatu: piari kau ana. Katahi ka titiro iho te maia nei ki tona ata i roto i te wai ra. Titiro rawa iho, he kino rawa tana ahua. Katahi ka whakaaro te maia ra; "E tohu ana kia kore e pai mai te wahine ki ahau, he weriweri noku!"

Na, ka tapaina iho ana te ingoa o taua wai, ko te "Wai-whaka-ata o Tu-tamure," e mau nei taua ingoa i naiane, kei Nukutaurua, kei Te Mahia.

Ka hoki te maia ra, katahi ka ki atu ki te taina ki a Taipunua; "E, moea ta taua wahine mau."

Heoi, hoki mai ana a Tu-tamure ratou ko tona iwi, ko te Pane-nehu,⁵ ki tona kainga ki Whitikau, i roto atu i Marumutu, i te ara e tika ana ki Turanganui.

Ko tenei iwi, ko te Pane-nehu, kua ngaro haere i te ao ; na Ngaitai i whakangaro i nga pakanga o mua, i te takiwa ia Tu-tahua-rangi, ahu atu ki mua. Ko nga morehu o tenei iwi o te Pane-nehu kua korara kei roto i a Ngaitai, i a te Waka-tohea hoki. Ko to ratou whenua tuturu, ko Whitikau. Kua riro mai ia Wiremu Kingi Tu-tahua-rangi i nga pakanga kua korero i runga ake nei.

TRANSLATION.

This *pa* of Maunga-a-Kahia, belonged to Ngati Kahungunu ; it was besieged by Tu-tamure in former times. At the period when the numberless army of Tu-tamure came to fight with this *pa* it was surrounded by the numbers under Tu-tamure. It was besieged for several months ; all the food (growing) outside the *pa* was consumed, as well as the water. None of it could be acquired by the people of the *pa*.

Tu-tamure now began to think that the people of the *pa* would die of starvation, and want of water. Then he commanded his army to assault that great *pa*. The companies (or divisions) dashed forward to assault the *pa*. There were great numbers (of people) also in the *pa*.

It was not long before the first rampart fell ; then the second, then the third, and then the fourth. At the same time the people of the *pa* retreated upwards to the summit of the fortification. They were followed upwards (by the besiegers), and another rampart soon fell. By this time all the numberless defenders were gathered together at the summit. Then Tu-tamure felt that this immense *pa* had fallen to him.

Tu-tamure then spoke the following words : “ (It was) assaulted with the spear, assaulted with the club, and (finally) with the great-spouting-fish-of-Tu, then fell the *pa* on the top of Maunga-a-Kahia.”¹

Now, for the first time, Kahu-ngunu, the chief of the *pa*, felt that his *pa* would be taken, and he and all his tribe be killed. He (therefore) asked of the besieging army : “ Whose army is this ? ” Tu-tamure returned : “ Did you never hear that ‘ when the sea breeze gently blows, the spines of the schnapper are (seen) erect ? ’ ”² Now the chief of the *pa* understood that the army belonged to Tu-tamure. Then the chief of the *pa* called down to Tu-tamure : “ Will not this great army which surrounds my *pa* listen to you, if you tell them to retire outside ? ” Tu-tamure called up to him : “ If I speak to this great army which surrounds your *pa* they will all retire outside.” Then Tu-tamure commanded the chiefs of his army that they should all retire outside the *pa*, and cease the assault. And the army retreated outside the *pa*, and remained quietly there. So soon as

they had all collected beyond the glaciis of the *pa*, immediately the chief of the *pa* descended, accompanied by his daughter, Tauhei-kuri, and joined the army. Arrived there, he found Tu-tamure, together with his younger brother Taipunua. Then he delivered over to Tu-tamure his daughter. She was a virgin—was the lady—(like Hinemoa)³.

The lady was now in the midst of the men of the army. Her regards fell (exclusively) on the younger brother of Tu-tamure (and took no notice of the latter). Then this great *taniwha*⁴ (or chief) felt that he was ignored. He arose from the place where they were all sitting, and went down to the seaside, to a place where the rocks were flat; arrived there, he found a pool of water on the rocks; it was clear and limpid. Then the hero looked down at his reflection in the pool, and, looking closely, discovered that his appearance was very ugly. Then said the hero (to himself), "It is quite right that the lady did not approve of me, I am disgusting!"

Now, that place was then named "Te wai-whaka-ata o Tu-tamure" (or the looking-glass of Tu-tamure), and it remains to this time. It is at Nukutaurua, on the Mahia peninsula.

The hero then returned (to the army), and said to his younger brother Taipunua, "Marry our lady as a wife for thyself."

Enough, Tu-tamure and all his tribe—the Pane-nehu⁵ (the buried head)—returned to their homes at Whitikau, which is inland of Marumutu on the road to Turanga-nui (Gisborne).

This tribe—the Pane-nehu—has gradually disappeared from the world. It was the tribe Ngaitai which caused them to disappear during the wars of old in the times of Tu-tahuarangi, and even before that. The remnants of the Pane-nehu are scattered amongst the Ngaitai and the Wakatohea tribes. Their proper homes were at Whitikau, which has been transferred to William King Tu-tahua-rangi during the wars spoken of above.

NOTES.

1. Tu-tamure's *whakatauki*, or proverbial saying, for such it has become cannot be rendered into English by a mere translation of the words. It is an illustration of the terse, allegorical sayings so common to the Maori, and which, when aptly quoted, carry such weight in their speeches. *Hua* is here an abbreviation of *huata*, a spear, sometimes barbed. *Ake* is the tree which, from its hardness, was used for making clubs. *Te ika pupuhi nui a Tu*, is an allegorical expression for the whale, sometimes applied to a chief, but in the text is used to signify the *mere-paraoa*, or whalebone club, used in close fighting. It will thus be seen that this saying of Tu-tamure's describes the various stages of the seige—first the assault with spears, secondly the closer assault with the *taiaha* or long double-bladed club, and finally the hand-to-hand fight with the short *mere-paraoa*.

2. Again, the translation fails to convey the meaning in this speech of Tu-tamure's. In calm quiet weather the Schnapper fish can be seen feeding on the sea-weed off the rocks at the surface of the sea, often with its back out of water,

and consequently with the spines fully in view. *Tamure* is the Maori name for the Schnapper, hence the appropriateness of the saying; it was, moreover, a delicate way of overcoming a point of Maori etiquette, which did not allow of one chief to ask another his name (it was always supposed to be known), nor for any chief to state his name.

3. The writer here of course refers to the great lady of Rotorua, Hinemoa, celebrated in song and story, especially in Domett's "*Ranolf and Amohia*." The daughters of great chiefs, even when not betrothed from infancy, were not allowed the license of young women generally.

4. *Taniwha*. The *taniwha* is a mythical animal of the dragon species, but the word is often used to denote a great chief or warrior, *i.e.*, *Waikato taniwha rau*—"Waikato of the hundred chiefs," the tribal motto of the Waikato tribes.

6. Te Pane-nehu is said to be one of the original tribes found here on the arrival of the Maoris; they lived in the wooded mountains between Opotiki, Bay of Plenty and Poverty Bay, and, as stated in the text, have no longer a separate existence as a tribe, having been absorbed by conquest into the littoral tribes of Ngaitai and Wakatohea, who are descended (in part) from the crew of the *Mata-atua* canoe. Mr. W. C. Kensington, of Auckland, has been kind enough to search the records of the Native Land Court for me, and supplies the following genealogical tables from our hero, Tu-tamure, to the present day.

Given by Awanui Aporotanga (of Ngaitai)—

Tuhi-tamure
Manu-taurehe
Rongo-te-aka
Tauira-a-rangi
Tauira-korero
Kahukura-te-ahu
Kahukura-rohia
Te Aotai
Te Owheuru
Te Manawa
Te Pa-ina
Amoa
Marohe
Te Aporotanga
Te Awanui-aporotanga

Given by Tawhiro, of Ngatirua, *hapu* of Wakatohea—

Tu-tamure
Manu-taurehe
Rongo-te-aka
Tauira-a-rangi
Kahukura-te-ahu =
 ┌───────────┴───────────┐
 Rongomai-parea Kahukura-rohia
 Hamurua
 Te Koroua
 Riritora
 Te Wata-iwi =
 ┌───────────┴───────────┐
 Amoa Matahi
 Marohe Te Oke
 Te Aporotanga Tawhiro
 Te Awanui-aporotanga





THE OCCUPATION OF THE CHATHAM ISLANDS BY THE MAORIS IN 1835.

BY A. SHAND, ESQ., OF CHATHAM ISLAND.

PART II.—THE MIGRATION OF NGATIAWA TO CHATHAM ISLAND.

AS already stated, the Ngatitama escapees from the massacre at Te Tarata came back to Port Nicholson and dwelt there with the Ngatimutunga tribe. Prior to this time, many Maoris had made voyages to the islands south of New Zealand* as “hands” on board whaling ships, or had joined in sealing expeditions. Hohepa Tamai-hengia, of Ngatitōa, well known about Wellington formerly, went on a sealing expedition, and lived peaceably for a short time with the Morioris, on Chatham Island, at a small *kaainga* named Wharekauri. Either he or his companions mentioned this circumstance on their return; and hence the Maoris gave the island the name of Wharekauri, a name they could pronounce more easily than the Moriori one of Rēkōhu. Others had been to Sydney and Tasmania, as well as to many of the islands of the Pacific. On returning from these trips they related their experiences to their wondering friends, telling them of the sunshine and warmth of these islands, and the abundance of fruit so easily gathered there. Amongst others who had visited the Chatham Islands, was one Paki Whara, who returned to Port Nicholson, and there related his experiences to Ngatiawa. As told by one of the old men of the Ngatitama, he said: “There is an island out in the ocean, not far from here to the eastward, which we visited. It is a land of food—he *whenua kai*! It is full of birds—both land- and sea-birds—of all

* The Sydney whalers and sealers first began to visit the islands south of New Zealand in 1828. Chatham Island was first *discovered* by Europeans on 29th November, 1790, when Lieut. Broughton, in H.M. brig *Chatham*, visited the island on his way to join Vancouver, at Tahiti.—EDITORS.

inds; some living in the peaty soil; with albatross in plenty on the outlying islands. There is abundance of sea and shellfish; the lakes warm with eels; and it is a land of the *karaka* berry—he *whenua karaka*. The inhabitants are very numerous, but they do not understand how to fight, and have no weapons.” “This was the story,” he said, “which induced us to go to the Chathams.” As before said, the Maoris, after their migration southwards from their old homes at Taranaki, and residence on the Waikanae coast, Port Nicholson, and the Middle Island, had become thoroughly restless and adventurous. The picture of the abundance of young albatross, and other seabirds to be obtained there, excited them very much. One chief, in anticipation of their migration, and to establish a right, cursed or *tapued* the island, saying “that the albatross on the Sister islands (Rangitutahi) should be the grey hairs on his head”—a statement which few would have dared to question, well knowing what would be the result. Te Wharepa, eldest son of Te Poki, to *tapu* Pitt and the adjacent islands, named his canoe—then either just made or making—Rangiauria (the Moriori name of Pitt island). His canoe was made of a very large totara tree, from the River Hutt (Heretaunga); and out of the same tree, when split, another sister canoe called Nga-whēua was also made. The latter belonged to Patukawenga and Ketu Te Ropu. Both canoes were taken to the Chatham Islands in the *Rodney*. Owing to the excitement of the people, and the strong desire to proceed to the Chathams, the Ngatimutunga held a meeting (*runanga*) at Kumo-toto (nearly opposite the present Supreme Court, Wellington), where Pomare one of their leading chiefs resided, with his wife Tawhiti,* when it was agreed to proceed to the Chatham Islands at the first opportunity. The Ngatitama and Kekerewai held a similar meeting at Raurimu, a *kaainga* or *pa* between Pipitea Point and Kaiwharawhara. Whether these meetings took place on the arrival of the *Rodney* in Port Nicholson or previous to it is uncertain; in all probability it was on her arrival.

According to the account recorded of the brig *Rodney*, she belonged to Messrs. Cooper & Holt, of Sydney, and had come to New Zealand on a trading voyage. The name of the captain is stated to be Harewood; but that always given by the Maoris was *Rapete*—presumably “rabbit.” The name of the first mate was Ferguson, a name well known to the Maoris prior to the migration, and subsequently also at the island, where he traded with them frequently.

* Tawhiti was a daughter of Te Rauparaha's; she was discarded by her husband on account of the trouble brought about by Te Rauparaha at Hao-whenua. Subsequently Pomare took Hera-Waitaoro as his wife.

The account goes on to say that the brig arrived at Entry Island (Kapiti), 16th October, 1835; sailed thence on the 19th, and reached Cloudy Bay on the 21st; left again on the 25th, and arrived in Port Nicholson on the 26th October, 1835. Almost immediately after this, or between that date and the 7th November (when the Maoris were watering the *Rodney* to proceed to the Chatham Islands) they had seized the *Rodney*.

The account of this as given by Te Wharepa and others, is as follows: "After her arrival, we persuaded the captain to take his boat and go with us to Somes's Island—Matiu—where we told him we had a quantity of *muka* (scraped flax) and pigs. On arrival at the island we seized the crew, but did not tie the captain, telling him that we did not wish to injure him, but only desired him to take us all to the Chatham Islands; and that we would pay him well in *muka* and pigs, or even firearms, for doing so. The captain demurred for some time, and said 'that the Chatham Islands were owned by King George, and that the natives were his subjects; therefore he might be called to account if he took the Maoris thither.' Finding, however, that they were determined, and alarmed for his own safety, he assented; they then released the boat's crew." It does not appear clear at what time it happened that Wharepa injured permanently the hip joint of the mate,—Ferguson,—who, Wharepa's brother said, wished to take "his tribe"—the Ngatitooa—to Chatham Islands. If the story is correct, it would give color to the rumour, subsequently current in Sydney, that the Captain was a consenting party to taking the Maoris to the Chathams. Against this, however, is the fact that at the time when he was compelled to agree on Somes's Island—according to Maori testimony—he was certainly unwilling to do as they desired, whatever he may have done afterwards.

We find that, on the 7th November, the Maoris were watering the vessel, and between that date and the morning of November 14, 1835, at 5 a.m., when the *Rodney* sailed for the Chatham Islands, the Maoris were putting their potatoes and seed on board,—a quantity estimated at 70 tons,—although that could scarcely have occupied all the time. The day before leaving, so many Maoris crowded on board who wished to go, that there was no room to work the ship. She finally took away about 500 souls all told, including women and children; after having landed a large number of others at Evans' Bay. These latter people took the second mate ashore with them, fearing that the captain might not return, according to agreement, to take the next shipload, unless they held a hostage. According to the Captain's statement, this was nearly coming to pass, on his return

After landing the first party of Maoris at Whangaroa Harbour in the island. It is stated that he only fulfilled his agreement on the assurance of his trading-master, that if he did not return the life of the second mate would certainly be forfeited.

As already mentioned, the *Rodney* left Port Nicholson on the 14th November; she reached Whangatete, the next small bay to Whangaroa, Chatham Island, late on the 17th. The same evening a European named Baker,* in charge of a sealing and bay-whaling establishment, at Whangaroa, came off in a whaleboat, and visited them. There also came in the same boat a white man,—James Coffee,—Tauru-Matioro, and Rihari Patuhora, Matioro's sister Mukakai, and some others, all of whom lived peaceably with the Morioris on shore. Baker informed the captain of the proper anchorage at Whangaroa, to which he moved the ship next day, and where the Maoris were immediately landed.

Before the first party left Port Nicholson, many of the Ngati-mutunga, particularly Nga-Whairama, objected to and refused to allow the Ngatitama tribe to come on board, asserting that they were an evil lot, and both wizards and witches—*he iwi makutu*. Wharepa, Patukawenga, and others, to whom they were related, interfered however, and permitted them—being relations—to come on board, together with a section of the Ngatihaumia or Taranaki tribe.

According to the captain's account, they suffered much from want of water, being unable apparently, to carry sufficient for such a number; and on trying to pass the water to the women and children, the men seized and drunk it. According to the Maori's own story, they were packed so closely in the hold that they could only squat down with their heads resting on one another, and so sleep as best they could. Speaking of the incident years after, they said that when they landed on the island, had the Moriori's attacked them, owing to their sufferings on the voyage, they might have been killed with ease, being quite too ill to resist.

On the 23rd November the *Rodney* returned to Port Nicholson from Whangaroa, to the great relief of the Maoris there waiting. According to Captain Harewood's account, they had sacrificed and hung up certain dogs, and killed a girl likewise, who is said to have been dealt with in similar manner. This was done to induce the

* This Baker was the head of a shore party of sealers and whalers (right whales), who had been living on the island some time previously, at Whangaroa—said to have been so named by him, but more probably by his Maori companions. The old name in Moriori, given by "Kahu," being *Tei kohuru*; or, in Maori, *Tai marino*, placid, calm tide.

return of the brig. It took a whole day for those who returned to tell all about the island to their friends. Captain Harewood was now paid for carrying them to the Chathams.

In the second trip, which left on the 30th November, 1835, seven canoes were taken, together with the remainder of the Ngatimutunga, Kekerewai, Ngatitama, and Ngatilaumia,—a section of the Taranaki people,—in all about 400 souls. The vessel was not nearly so crowded or confined as on the first trip. She arrived at her destination on the 5th December, 1835.

Prior to leaving Wellington on the first trip, the leaders of the Ngatimutunga gave out that no one was to take possession of the land on the Chatham Islands, until the matter had been duly arranged. This, however, was apparently ignored by some of themselves, as well as the Ngatitama, who immediately on their arrival set out and took possession of Waitangi and its vicinity. Another section, under Meremere, took possession of the north-east end of the island, including Kaingaroa Harbour; the rest of the island being in the possession of the Ngatimutunga, Kekerewai, and others, who in many instances obliterated one another's "possession" (*takahi*), by living on the land, ignoring the footprints (*waewae*) of their predecessor, who in such cases generally found it convenient not to interfere, through not having sufficient force to repel the aggressor. All such matters, however, became more definitely arranged after the war which ensued between the Ngatitama and Ngatimutunga, when the Ngatitama—besieged at that time in a *pa* called Kai-mataotao, at Waitangi—were shipped away with their allies, the Kekerewai, to Kaingaroa, which event occurred in June, 1841. The New Zealand Co.'s Agent, —, Hanson, Esq. (afterwards Chief Justice in South Australia), performed this service in the *Cuba*, the account of which, with the causes of quarrel, will be detailed later on.

After the landing of the first party of Maoris from the *Rodney*, in Whangaroa, they had barely recovered from the effects of the voyage before parties set out in all directions to take possession of and occupy the land. The unfortunate Moriori's living thereon, within the boundaries claimed by each Maori *rangatira* or his *hapu*, henceforward became their property. They looked on in terror at the proceedings of these "Kaupeke," as they termed the new arrivals. Generally speaking each Maori claimed the Morioris within his boundaries; many at first were taken elsewhere from off their lands: while others subsequently were taken to New Zealand, with their masters, at various times.

On being thus enslaved, the Maoris set them to works which they

did not understand, such as carrying heavy burdens, and so forth, for which their previous life had quite unsuited them, for they were not a race of cultivators. Not understanding the new order of things, in many cases they ran away from their masters, for which they were often killed; or at other times, scared by a side blow from a tomahawk, or severely thrashed with the first thing handy. Many instances occurred in which a wife was taken from her husband, if she was at all attractive to her master, which often resulted in her running away to her former husband, who was often killed to prevent a recurrence of a like behaviour; and the woman likewise thrashed severely for her fault. When a Moriori wished to marry the woman he loved, he was not permitted to do so, lest the services of the woman should go to another master. The Maoris on their arrival being very short of food—until their crops grew—compelled the Morioris to produce anything they might possess; and searched for the steeped *karaka* berries of the Morioris, if they thought they were secreted. All this might perhaps be excused, as the natural brutishness of a savage race, who knew no better; but the behaviour of the sub-*hapu*, Ngatiwai of the Ngatitama tribe, both at Te Raki and Waitangi, was inexcusable. They committed the greatest atrocities on the unfortunate Morioris. Te Wharekura, of Te Raki, with his *hapu*, killed and roasted 50 Morioris, in one oven,—it might have been more than one,—for no reason whatever that could be assigned. There was some story of the infringement of *tapu*; but this was doubtless a convenient excuse for the exercise of their innate savagery. They could not excuse themselves on the ground of dread of the Morioris, for the latter were quite unarmed and incapable of attacking them. This deed of savagery was put in the shade, however, by a worse one committed by another branch of the same Ngatiwai *hapu*, at Waitangi, where Tikaokao and others fell upon the Waitangi Morioris within their radius, killing men, women, and children; and laid them all out on the sand beach of Waitangi, in length over a quarter of a mile. One Moriori, recently dead—Heremaia Tau—said “they were laid out touching one another, the parent and the child.” “*Ko te Matua, ko te tamaiti.*” Some of the women, with stakes thrust into them, were left to die in their misery. This statement was corroborated by a Maori, one Pama, also now dead, who expressed his ignorance of the cause of the slaughter. He was living at Waitangi at the time of the occurrence.

If the statement can be relied on as to the extent of beach covered by the bodies, there could scarcely be less than 150 of them killed; but even if an exaggeration, the fact still remains undisputable that

there was a great slaughter, as nearly all the Morioris belonging to Waitangi were exterminated. When so many both of Ngatimutunga and Ngatitama were subsequently killed on board the *Jean Bart*, French whaler, the Morioris rejoiced that some retribution had overtaken the Maoris for the suffering they had inflicted on themselves. None of all those who took part in these atrocities survive. Apart from the cases detailed, comparatively few more were killed all over the island; but the Morioris began to die very rapidly after the arrival of the Maoris, the cause of which they attribute to the transgression of their own *tapu*, for the Morioris were an exceedingly *tapu* race.

The reason of their dying so rapidly after the arrival of the Maoris may be due to a variety of causes. In the first instance, isolated as they were in a small island or islands, not exceeding some 220,000 acres in extent, for a length of time extending over 27 or 28 generations, it was impossible for them to marry anyone but blood connections, even if those connections were removed by several stages. A noteworthy fact with regard to this people is, that all marriages of near connections were forbidden, and were considered incestuous (*tiware*). In cases where such relationships were likely to occur, a song was sung to warn transgressors of the danger they ran. Continued intermarriage in this manner could scarcely do otherwise than reduce the stamina of the race. Then there was the advent of the Sydney sealers, many of whom lived on the island for a time, and consorted with Moriori women, leaving behind them the usual train of syphilitic diseases, which naturally would be distributed around. With the arrival of the sealers, between 1828 and 1832, a disease was imported of a very virulent kind; and which the Morioris quite unwittingly brought on shore from a sealing vessel. It was said by some of the old men that 800 *topu*—1,600—died from its effects. This is, however, denied by some of the younger ones; at any rate very many died. It is said that they were in such a state of terror, that they remained in their huts, leaving the dead and dying to take care of themselves. The disease, whatever it was, was very quick in developing, coming out about the arms and body in large dark spots, and ending by carrying off the victim after about two days illness. Owing to the length of time that has elapsed, the description of it may be inaccurate; but, in any case, it was very rapid in its effects. In addition to this, was the harassing experiences of the Maori invasion; to which may be added their lack of clothing—due to the destruction by the sealers of all the fur seals, both old and young, on the outlying reefs or islands, which caused much destitution in that

respect. Owing to the great numbers of seals in former times, the Morioris had forgotten how to weave mats, and had become accustomed to use in their place the skins, fur-side inwards, for clothing. This caused much suffering by cold in the winter months; and in all probability induced chest complaints as well. All of these matters assisted in the mortality which supervened, so that out of an estimated population of 2,000 in 1835, and 212 in 1855, the Morioris are reduced to 35 at the present date; many of them being crossed with other strains, and are not pure Morioris.*

A calculation was made by one of the Morioris, in which he gave the names of 200 which were killed by the Maoris; but he felt sure that there were many more whom he could not recollect, more especially the younger people and children. In like manner he could account for the names of 1,600 living in 1835; but many in like manner he could not recollect, so that the approximation of 2,000 at that date may not be very far out.

Speaking of their numbers before the Maori invasion, the Karewa people, who lived in the centre of the island, likened themselves to the young of the wild grey duck (*morīs*), as seen on the Whanga (big lagoon) in numberless flocks before the arrival of the inevitable European pests,—pigs, dogs, cats, and rats,—which rapidly thinned and destroyed both sea and land birds. The sea-birds swarmed in all the peaty and higher lands or prominences of the island; and their holes were either dug out by pigs, who eat up the young, or by cats and rats, which destroyed the eggs and the birds themselves. In the case of the wingless birds, they were destroyed by dogs, brought by sealers, which were allowed to go wild. These dogs even killed and devoured one or two of the Moriori, besides attacking others, as well as some of the Maoris; they were ultimately all destroyed. The Morioris of other parts of the island likened themselves in numbers to the *korari*, or flax stalks; an exaggeration no doubt, but still showing that they were very numerous originally.

Owing to the “possession taking” (*takahi*) of the islands happening before the arrival of the second shipload of Maoris, the latter had no claim to the island, nor any rights of their own, but lived among their relatives on sufferance; or with those who, as *rangatiras*, claimed the land. Thus a spirit of envy gradually arose on the part

* Touching the Moriori mats, it may be added that on the sealskins being no longer obtainable, they had began to try and recover the old mode of making mats when the Maori migration arrived, who taught them their own process instead. A few specimens of the old Moriori mat have been seen; they were beautifully fine in texture, far more so than those of the Maori.

of Ngatimutunga, of Whangaroa, against the Ngatitama, of Waitangi, more especially as vessels often called at the latter place, where the cultivations were near at hand, consequently the people had not far to carry potatoes; whilst at Whangaroa the bush land was extremely limited, and potatoes had to be carried from a long distance. A year or so after the arrival of the Maoris, Patukawenga, of the senior branch of the Puanaki* family, died. His influence, both as a relative and friend of the Ngatitama and Kekerewai, preponderated, thus increasing the authority and influence of his uncle Te Poki, who, together with the Pomare following, combined in their envy of the Ngatitama position at Waitangi; added to this was the grievance—at that time called in commemoration *Paana rae*—that the Ngatimutunga had against Ngatitama, because they were not allowed to bring their potatoes from a distance outside the Ngatitama radius, and barter them with the whalers in Waitangi. Pomare, at this juncture, got some one to write a letter or letters to the Ngatitama at Waitangi, the exact reason for which is not clear; but evidently it had some reference to vessels. This the Ngatitama—who did not stick at trifles—tore up; a proceeding which constituted a grievous insult to Pomare. All of these circumstances caused much tension at the time between the two tribes, and make their relations unpleasant.

On the first arrival of the Maoris, many whalers called at the Chatham Islands; but shortly after the English whaler—the

* There were two leading families in the Ngatimutunga tribe, that of Puanaki's descendants, and that of Piritaka's. Puanaki had:—eldest born Te Anu (an idiot), next Kaiwhakarua, Warea, Te Umu, Te Poki. Kaiwhakarua was a man of great strength and ferocity as a warrior; a wrestler perhaps unequaled in his district. Among other things he showed a most impartial class of mind, quite peculiar in a Maori: thus, on some part of his tribe asserting an injury against another, he would join them to punish as well as kill and eat their adversaries. This done, however, his evenly balanced sense of justice would not allow him rest until he had avenged *their* losses in like manner,—he being related to both sides,—thus affording him an opportunity of tasting the flavour of his sometime friends—hence his name: Kai-Whakarua, “eating both sides.” Consequently neither side had cause of complaint, each being duly avenged. His son was Patukawenga; a second son was killed at Haowhenua. Warea (female) was mother of Kitu te Ropu and Tipi, wife of Tau. Te Umu's children were: Te Iringa (female),—who married a Ngapuhi man, and accompanied her husband on the way round by Wellington (Whanganui-a-Tara) in one of the first Ngapuhi *tauas* with Ruaparaha, where Te Iringa was killed, which constituted a *take* whereby the Ngatimutunga claimed Wellington in their southward migration. Tapae, Tupara, and Tangari were the other children of Te Umu. The two former went to Auckland Islands from the Chathams, and dwelt there, in 1843. Te Poki's children were:—Te Wharepa, Toenga, Te Matahi, Te Nohinohi, Haena, and Paina te Poki. Te Nohinohi was killed by the *Jean Bart's* crew. Pomare left no direct descendants; his relatives are children of a half-brother and sisters.

barque *Caroline*, Captain Robertson—left, a very long time elapsed—over a year or more—before any more came; and there was therefore no tobacco obtainable, many of the Maoris being without any. Moreover, the old feelings of discontent again arose, due partly to the smallness of the island; and partly to the old restless feeling engendered by their various migrations; and also to the knowledge that there were other lands than the Chatham Islands which they might go to. Te Tupe-o-tu, elder brother of Matoro, the head chief of the Otaraua *hapu*, at this time returned with the *Caroline* to Waikanae, in Cook's Strait.

Soon afterwards one Ray, captain of an American whaler, called at Okawa, on the N.E. coast of the island. Wiremu Kingi Meremere, a Ngatitama chief, went on board and tried to make an arrangement with the captain for himself and the Kekerewai tribe to go to Samoa, or Nawaikite (Navigators) as they called it. Captain Ray, it is said, told them all to go round to Waitangi, where he would shortly return, after going out to the whaling grounds, and there arrange matters with them. Accordingly a large proportion of the Ngatitama and Kekerewai, from the Kaingaroa end of the island, went to Waitangi to await his arrival as promised. Meanwhile the Ngatimutunga, it is said, also began to stir; and wished to go to Norfolk Island, which by some means they had heard of. Such was the unsettled position of affairs at that date, when an event occurred which altered all their plans.

[To be continued.]





THE SAMOAN STORY OF CREATION—A ‘*Tala*.’

The Polynesian Society is indebted to Dr. John Fraser of Sydney for permission to reproduce in this Journal his paper originally published in the “Transactions of the Royal Society, N.S.W.,” 1891, on the “Samoa story of Creation.” With equal kindness he lent us the Rev. Mr. Powell’s original MS. text in the Samoan language, which is reproduced here after correction by the Rev. S. Ella of Sydney and himself. The Samoan text was not published by the Royal Society, but we have been induced to produce it here, for the same reason that other papers have been printed in the native languages in this Journal, *i.e.*, in order that it may be read by the natives themselves. We thereby hope to induce members of the native races to contribute original matter bearing on their traditions, &c.

It appears to us that this “Story of Creation” is of a high order, and may be classed with the best of the creation myths of other branches of the Polynesian race.

The Rev. T. Powell in securing this valuable tradition, the Rev. G. Pratt in translating it, and Dr. J. Fraser in editing and annotating it, have conferred a lasting benefit on the Samoans in particular and the Polynesians in general, which the descendants of the present people will as time goes on, appreciate more and more when education and refinement increase amongst them.

The exalted supremacy ascribed to Tangaloa in this myth, is characteristic of the Western Polynesians, (and some others—no doubt derivative) but we venture to suggest that further researches will prove that other branches of the race ascribed the same high position to Tane, and that probably the latter are a distinct migration into the Pacific.—EDITORS.

INTRODUCTION—1. All nations have traditions or speculations as to their own origin, and these often include a Cosmogony, by which they endeavour to account for the existence of the world, or at least of their own land, and for the creation of men to be its inhabitants. Our own Australian blacks, whom some ethnologists wrongly describe as the lowest of human beings, speak of a great Creator, known by such tribal names as Baiamai, Punjil, Nuralli, who made them and all things, and who still lives in the heavens above; in the work of creation, he carried a great knife, with which to shape the toil of his hands; in this work he is assisted by a *demiourgos* whom the

Kamalarai tribe call Dharamulan, and certain birds and animals are also associated with him as agents ; Punjil first made two men each of a lump of clay, which he gradually fashioned from the feet upwards into the human form ; and, as the figures grew in symmetry and beauty, he danced round them, well satisfied with his work ; then he breathed very hard on them and they lived, and began to move about as full-grown men. The one had straight hair, and the other had curly hair.

2. Punjil's brother had control of all waters, great and small ; and so, one day, he brought up by a hook from a muddy-pool two young women, and they became the companions of the two men. Some time after, Punjil came down and visited the camp of the blacks ; and, becoming very angry, he used his great knife on the men, women, and children there, and cut them into very small pieces, which still lived and wriggled about like worms ; these he carried into the sky, and then dropped them wherever he pleased ; the pieces became men and women, and peopled the whole land. Baiamai gave to the blacks their sacred songs and their social institutions.

There is not much of a Cosmogony in this tale, for it tells us only how men were brought into being, and how Australia came to be occupied by straight-haired and curly-haired blacks ; but I have introduced it here, because it bears some relation to the Polynesian myth which I am now to make known to you.

3. The Polynesian race of the Eastern Pacific has an elaborate system of Cosmogony, which aims at explaining how the heavens were created and sustained, how gods and men came to be, how their own islands arose ; but the details thereof vary much as given by the wise men in the various groups. Of the varying forms of the great Myth of Creation, the one I have here from Sāmoa seems to me to be the purest and the noblest, and to be the original from which the others have come. Any one who knows Polynesia would reasonably expect this to be so, for, in many respects, the Sāmoans are a nobler people than most of the other islanders ; they have a strong claim to be considered the parents of the race ; and their highest chiefs and priests were the depositaries of the old traditions and beliefs. The present myth was communicated by one of these old chiefs, Taua-nu'u of Manu'a, and as Mr. Powell who got it had his full confidence, I have no doubt that this is a genuine and uncorrupted record. In estimating its value, we must always bear in mind that natives consider their traditional records as property which ought not to be shared with strangers ; if circumstances compel them to open their stores against their will to foreigners, they so abridge or mutilate the narrative that

it is then of little value, and, only when there is mutual confidence and trust as between friends, will they consent to tell the tale in its fulness and purity. Now, it is evident that this condition of friendship existed between Tauga-nu'u and Mr. Powell. Hence my belief in the genuineness of this record.

4. There is much simple dignity in the opening sentence of the myth—"The god Tangaloa dwelt in the Expanse" as the sole intelligence there. He was soon to be the creator of all things, but as yet there was no sky, no sea, no land. He moved to and fro in the Expanse.

It is noticeable that this opening sentence of the myth assumes the prior existence of three things before the work of creation began—(1) an Expanse or Firmament, (2) an intelligent and self-existing creative principle, 'le atua Tagaloa, the god Tangaloa, and (3) the material wherewith to form the earth. There is here no notion that the earth was formed out of nothing. There is, however, an implied belief in the eternity of matter,—the matter, at least, which became the primitive *papa*, 'rock.' And also there was an Expanse, a sort of illimitable space—and that is a necessary belief in every creation-myth, but there was no sky, that is, no cloud-land or rain-land such as is now over the earth, and there was Tangaloa, moving to and fro at will in the Expanse. I therefore take Tangaloa to be the Aether of other cosmogonies,—the bright and pure principle of light and heat which existed before the sun, and which spread everywhere in that earliest state of things which we call Chaos. And, as this myth goes on, we shall find that, according to Polynesian belief, after the heavens and the earth had been made, this same Tangaloa places himself in the highest heavens, the Ninth, the clearest empyrean—where no cloud ever comes,—and there he dwells, calm and undisturbed, in his fale'ula, his 'palace of brightness.' So I see nothing sordid in these three Polynesian ideas; the whole presents itself to me as a very chaste opening to a Creation-myth.

In this same sense, Charles Kingsley eloquently says:—"Those simple-hearted forefathers of ours said within themselves 'Where is the All-father'? Then they lifted up their eyes to the clear, blue sky, the boundless firmament of heaven. That never changed; that was always the same. The clouds and storms rolled far below it, and all the bustle of this noisy world; but there the sky was still, as bright and calm as ever. The All-Father must be there, unchangeable in the unchanging heaven; bright, and pure, and boundless, like the heaven; and like the heavens too, silent and far off. So they named him after the heaven, Tuisco—the God who lives in the clear heaven,

the heavenly father. He was the Father of Gods and men; and man was the son of Tuisco and Hertha—heaven and earth.”

Now as to the meaning and derivation of the name Tangaloa, I may call to your remembrance the fact that the Anglo-Saxon god-name, Tuisco, is of the same origin as the *Eng.* word *day* and *Lat.* *dies*; the old Aryan root is *dyu* or *div*, ‘to shine,’ which gives other god-names, the *Sans.* *Dyaus* and *deva*, the *Gr.* *Zeus* and *Zēn*, and the *Lat.* *Jupiter*, *Jovis*, as well as the common noun *divus*. The idea common to them all is that of ‘bright, lustrous, beaming,’ and this fits in with the fact that Tangaloa dwells in the empyrean above. But, in seeking for a derivation of the name Tangaloa, I call to mind the Polynesian tradition that originally the sky lay flat on the lower world, *lalo-langi*, as they call it, the ‘under-the-sky,’ and that the nine heavens, being now propped up, surround the earth and envelope it on all sides. Therefore I divide the name Tangaloa into two parts *tanga* and *loa*; in Samoan the verb *ta‘ai*, that is, *takai* (= *tangai*) means, to ‘wind round’ like an ulcer encircling a limb, and *ta‘aiga* is a ‘roll,’ of mats or tobacco or the like. In the Maori dialect, *tangai* is the ‘bark’ or ‘rind,’ that which ‘envelopes,’ and *takai* is a ‘wrapper’; in Samoan *tanga* is a ‘bag,’ that which ‘envelopes’ or ‘encloses.’ I would therefore say that the name was at first *Tanga-la*, then lengthened into *Tanga-loa*,—‘the god that encompasses all things,’ ‘the encircling Aether’; but, as *-la* is not a common formative in Polynesian dialects, at least so far as I know, it is quite possible that *-loa* is a separate word, and may be the Samoan *loa*, ‘long,’ ‘far off.’

5. The myth next goes on to say that, in his wandering to and fro in the Expanse, Tangaloa one day stood still, and then there grew up *pāpā*, ‘a rock,’ for him to rest on. In another Samoan myth, ‘*le Solo o le Va*,’ Tangaloa is, at another time, weary of flying over the waste of waters, and no sooner does he express a wish for a resting place, than an island rises up from the deep for him. In both cases, there is no laborious work of creation ascribed to him, but his wish or his need at once produces the result desired. There is certainly some dignity in this.

The word *pāpā*, in Samoan, means ‘rock,’ but in other dialects it also means ‘foundation,’ ‘anything level or flat,’ and *pala*, means ‘mud.’ Now I take the myth here to indicate that, by the exercise of his will alone, Tangaloa caused to spring up, out of chaos, first the solid foundation-material out of which the Earth, the Sea, the Sky, were afterwards evolved by separate fiats or acts of creation; for the myth then declares that he spake to the Rock, saying ‘Be thou split

open,' and there came forth, as if by successive efforts of parturition, various kinds of foundation-stuff, then the Earth, then the Sea, and Fresh-water, and the Sky, and 'Prince-Prop-up-sky,' and Immensity, and Space, and Height, and, last of all, Man, as a physical being, but not yet endowed with intelligence. Unlike the original p a p a, all of these come into existence, not at his will, but by the power of a separate command of evolution for each.

I am not much concerned to explain how, on natural principles, the Sea, and the Sky, and Man himself, can have been produced by this p a p a, but the succession of ideas in this Samoan myth is consistent; for first comes the Rock or Foundation—the physical origin of all things—then the varieties of rock, which are soon united to form the Earth; then the Sea, 'le tai,' is made to surround the Earth and lave its shores; then its counterpart, 'le vai,' Fresh-water, appears on the Earth; hitherto Earth and Sky had been as one, but now the Sky is lifted up above the earth and secured in its place by props; then the dimensions Length, Breadth, and Height appeared; and then, all things being ready for him, Man came upon the scene.

6. But Man was yet a dull, inert mass of matter; so Tangaloa created Spirit, and Heart, and Will, and Thought, and put them within him, and thus Man became a living soul. Here the myth duly recognises the composite nature of man, and that too with a precision scarcely to be expected from Polynesians.

7. The Kosmos had been, to some extent, arranged already as Land, Sea, and Sky, but now that Man is to dwell on earth, Tangaloa proceeds to make him comfortable; and so he sends Immensity and Space, as a wedded pair, to dwell in the sky above; he bids another pair, 'Two-clouds' and 'Two-fresh-water-bottles,' attend to the supply of water from the clouds, and another pair to people the Sea. Meanwhile the man and his wife are to people the earth on its southern side. But now a catastrophe seems to have happened, for Tui-te'elangī, the Polynesian Atlas, found himself unable any longer to support the weight of the sky, and so it fell down on the earth once more. Then Tui bethought him of two native plants that grow, spread out a-top like an umbrella; with these he propped up the sky, and it has never fallen since! In this connection, it is curious to note that our Australian Aborigines believe similarly that the sky is held up by props, and they have a tradition that the props once broke, and then the wizards had great work to do in getting the sky propped up again.

8. The wedded pair, Immensity and Space, that had a little before been removed from the earth to the sky, now brought forth children—

Night and Day, and these two, by their united action, produced the Sun and the Stars; these two dwell in the First Heavens, the region of alternate darkness and brightness. Immensity and Space next gave birth to Le-Langi, 'the clear, blue sky'; that is the Second Heavens. Langi then produces all the other heavens up to the Ninth, and each of these is peopled by Immensity and Space. All this means that, above the cloud land of the First Heaven, everything is serene, calm, and clear, and everywhere there is illimitable extension of space. So it must have appeared, at all events, to the earliest myth-makers, when they turned their thoughts from earth to heaven.

9. Our myth now turns to the creation of the other gods; every one of these, however, is a Tangaloa, and is therefore not a separate and independent being, but only a phase, as it were, of the supreme Tangaloa—a distinct manifestation of himself in some one or other of his functions. These he created, but the word used here fa'a-tu-pu, only implies that he 'caused them to grow up' or to be. Of all these facets of himself, he makes Tangaloa-le-fuli, 'the immoveable,' to be the chief, for up there, in his domain, the Ninth Heavens, the clouds 'never roll along' (le fuli), the storms below never come nigh, and all is tranquillity and peace.

10. The myth next shows the Sāmoan pride of race, for it makes Sāmoa and Manu'a to be brothers to the Sun and the Moon. And yet we cannot believe that the Polynesians are akin to the rulers of the Celestial Empire. After these, the other islands of the Pacific, as known to Sāmoans,—Tonga and Fiji and the Eastern groups—are made to spring up at the will of 'Tangaloa-the-creator-of-lands.' This is a much more dignified account of things than that which is given in some other Polynesian legends, which say that, while one of the gods was engaged fishing in the sea, he pulled up with his line an island here and there; and that had not the line at last broken with the pull, some of these islands might have been continents.

11. But the newly-created islands are, as yet, rough and rugged and unfit for the occupation of man; and so 'Tangaloa-the-creator' comes down and treads upon them, and prepares them for people to dwell in. And he looked on all his work, and said, 'It is good.' To people these lands, he causes Tangaloa-sāvāli to take a native climbing-plant, a Fue, and lay it outside in the sun. Under the Sun's heat, its juice brought forth a great multitude of worms; these Tangaloa fashioned into men and women, and gave them intelligence, and thus he peopled the lands. This Fue must represent some echo of the original creation of mankind by God, for our myth says, at its close,

that Fue was the son of Tangaloa, and there is still in Sāmoa a variety of this vine, which is called Fue-sā, the 'sacred vine.' And, to Sāmoans, such origination of life is intelligible; for they have experience of animal life as a product of the sun's heat, to procure oil, they slice their cocoa-nuts into lumps, and leaving a heap of this 'copra' exposed in a canoe, they find that it soon produces oil and worms.

12. As a parallel to this account of the origin of man, I now refer to the Australian tradition with which I began this introduction. There the creation-god is Baiamai, that is, Bai-bai, an intensive and therefore honorific name, formed from the Australian root-word *b a*, 'to cause to be,' 'to make'; similarly, the verb *p u n j i l k o*, that is, *p u n j i l* with the infinitive suffix *-k o* added, means 'to cut out,' 'to shape,' 'to make'; hence Baimai and Punjil simply mean 'the creator.' In his creative work, Punjil uses a knife wherewith to shape all things; similarly Tangaloa cuts and shapes the vine-worms 'into member'd forms.' Punjil too, when he wishes the land to be occupied, cuts the people into small worm-like pieces and scatters them about. Tangaloa declares himself well pleased with his handiwork; Punjil, in delight, dances around the clay image of the man which he was making. Tangaloa gives spirit and heart to animate man; Punjil breathes hard on his image and the man lives, Tangaloa, in one of his aspects, is the lord of the sea; Punjil's brother is the lord of all waters. Baiamai gave to the Australians all their social regulations; so also, among the Polynesians, all authority comes from Tangaloa; he gave them kingly rule, and the right of holding councils, and enjoined them to live in peace.

And thus, in folk-lore and in tradition myths, parallel stories may be found in the most unlikely quarters, all the world over and these parallels can scarcely have proceeded from merely a similar power of invention in so many diverse nations; they seem to indicate a common origin.

O LE TALA

I LE TUPUAGA O SAMOA ATOA FO'I MA MANU'A,
A E AMATA LE TALA ONA FIA I MANU'A.

*13 O Tagaloa le atua e nofo i le vanimonimo ; ua na faia mea uma ; ua na o ia e leai se Lagi, e leai se Nu'u ; ua na ona fealualu mai o ia i le vanimonimo ; e leai fo'i le Sami, ma le Lau-'ele-'ele ; a o le mea na ia tu ai na tupu ai le Papa. O Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u fo'i lona igoa ; ina a fai e ia mea uma, aua e le'i faia mea uma ; e le'i faia le lagi, ma mea uma lava ; a ua tupu ai le Papa i le mea na ia tu ai.

14. Ona fai atu lea o Tagaloa i le Papa, "Mavae ia," ona fanau ai lea o le Papa-ta'oto ; toe fanau Papa-sosolo ; toe fanau o le Papa-lau-a'au ; toe fanau o le Papa-'ano-'ano ; toe fanau o le Papa-'ele ; toe fanau o le Papa-tu ; toe fanau o le Papa-'amu-'amu ; ona pau ai lea.

15. A o Tagaloa e tu ia e fa'asaga i sisifo ma tautala ia i Papa. Ona ta lea Tagaloa i lona lima taumatau, ona mavae ai lea le Papa i le itu taumatau. Ona fanau ai lea o le 'Ele'ele ('o le matua lea o tagata uma i le lalo lagi) ; fanau ai fo'i le Sami.

Ona ufitia ai lea o Papa-sosolo. Ona fai atu lea o Papa-nofo ia Papa-sosolo, "Amuia oe i lou tai." Ona fai mai lea Papa-sosolo, "Aua e te fa'aamuia mai, e o'o lava le tai ia te oe : " Ua fa'apea papa uma ona fa'aamuia.

16. Ona tu fa'asaga lea Tagaloa i le itu taumatau, ona tupu ai lea le Vai.

Ona toe tautala lea Tagaloa i le Papa—"Mavae ia." Ona fanau ai lea le Lagi.

Ona toe tautala lea Tagaloa i le Papa, ona fanau ai lea o Tui-te'e-lagi.

Ona fanau ai lea o Ilu ; toe fanau o Mamao (o le fafine lea) ; toe fanau o le Niua.

17. Ona toe tautala lea Tagaloa i le Papa, ona fanau lea o Lua'ō (o le tama), ona toe tautala lea Tagaloa i le Papa, ona fanau ai lea o Luavai (o le teine). Na tofi'a laua e Tagaloa i Sa-Tuālagi.

18. Ona toe tautala lea Tagaloa i le Papa ona ua toe fanau ai o le Aolālā (o le tama), ona toe fanau lea o le Gao-gao-o-le-tai, (o le teine). Ona toe fanau lea, o le Tagata ; toe fanau, o Agaga ; toe fanau, o Loto ; toe fanau, o Finagalo ; toe fanau, o Masalo.

* The numbers given to the paragraphs correspond with those in Dr. Fraser's paper, "The Samoan Story of Creation," Transactions of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 1891, page 261, *et seq.* Note—the "g" in Samoa always has an "n" before it ; though not so written it is understood. Tagaloa is pronounced Tangaloa, for instance. The apostrophe usually denotes the letter "k," not sounded in the Samoan language ; Manu'a is in Maori letters, Manuka.

19. Ona gata lea le fanauga a Tagaloa na fanau lava i le Papa, a na ona opeopea lava i le Sami, ua leai se mea e mau ai.

20. Ona fai lea le tofiga a Tagaloa ma le Papa ; ua fa'apea :—

1. O Loto ma Agaga ma Finagalo ma Masalo ina o ane, ia fa'atasi i totonu o le tagata ; ona fa'atasi ane ai lea, o le mea lea ua atamai ai tagata. Na fa'atasi ane ma le 'Ele-'ele ua igoa ai ia Fatu-ma-le-'Ele-'ele, o le uluga aiga, o Fatu le tane, o 'Ele-'ele le fafine.
2. Ona fai ane lea ia Ilu ma Mamao, " Ō mai ia ; ia fa'atasi i luga ma la oulua tama lea o Niua." Ona o a'e lea ; ua na ona vanimonimo, ua leai se mea e taunu'u i ai le va'ai.
3. A o Lua'ō ma Luavai, " O mai, ia lua, fa'atagata le itu o Vai."
4. A, e tofia ia Aolālā ma Gao-gao-le-tai i le Sami, la te fa'a-tagataina le Sami.
5. A, e tofia ia le Fatu ma le 'Ele-'ele ; ō ia lau la te fa'atagataina lenei itu ; ai e tusi lea i le itu tau-agavale, e fa'afesagai ma Tuālagi.
6. Ona fai atu lea Tagaloa ia Tui-te'e-lagi. " O mai ia, ina te'e le lagi." Ona te'e lava lea, ua o'o i luga. Ona pa'u ifo ai lea, ona ua le mafai. Ona alu lea Tui-te'e-lagi i le Masoa ma le Teve ; ona au mai lea ma te'e ai ; ona mafai lava lea. (Na muai tutupu o le Masoa ma le Teve, a e muli muli isi laau.) Ona i ai lea le lagi i luga, ua taunu'u i ai le va'ai, a ua leai se mea e taunu'u i ai le va'ai. Na ona va-nimonimo ia Ilu ma Mamao.

21. Ona fanau ai lea le fanauga a Ilu ma Mamao ; ua fanau o Ao, toe fanau o Po, o le uluga aiga na tofia e Tagaloa la fanau au le Mata-o-le-Lagi. Toe fanau Ilu ma Mamao, o le Lagi ; ua taua lea o le Lagi-tualua ; ona alu ane lea Tui-te'e-lagi, ua te'e, ua tualua ai Lagi : Ona nonofo lea o Ilu ma Mamao ma la fa'atagataina le Lagi. Ona toe fanau lea o le Lagi, ua alu ane Tui-te'e-lagi, ua te'e, o le Lagitua-tolu lea ; ua fa'atagata fo'i lea Lagi e Ilu ma Mamao. Ona toe fanau lea o le Lagi ; ai o le Lagituafa fo'i lea. Ua alu ane Tui-te'e-lagi, e te'e ua fa'atagata fo'i lea Lagi e Ilu ma Mamao. Ona toe fanau lea o le Lagi ; ai o le Lagitualima lea. Ona alu ane lea Tui-te'e-lagi e te'e ; ua fa'atagata fo'i lea Lagi e Ilu ma Maomao.

Ona toe fanau fo'i lea o le Lagi, ai o le Lagituaono lea. Ona alu ane Tui-te'e-lagi, ua te'e lea Lagi, ona fa'atagataina fo'i lea Lagi e Ilu ma Mamao.

Ona toe fanau lea o le Lagi ; a o le Lagituafitu lea. Ona alu ane lea o Tui-te'e-lagi ua te'e i lea Lagi, ua fa'atagataina fo'i lea Lagi e Ilu ma Mamao. Ona toe fanau fo'i lea e Ilu ma Mamao o le Lagi, ua taua lea o le Lagituavalu. Ona alu ane lea a Tui-te'e-lagi e te'e lea lagi, ua fa'atagataina e Ilu ma Mamao lea lagi.

Ona toe fanau lea o Lagi, ai o le Lagituaiva ; ua te'e fo'i e Tui-te'e-lagi ona fa'atagataina fo'i lea lagi e Ilu ma Mamao. Ua uma le fanau a Ilu ma Mamao ; ua o'o lava i le Lagituaiva.

22. Ona nofo lea o Tagaloa ; ua taua o Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u ; ona fa'a-tupu ai lea e ia o Tagaloa-lē-fuli ma Tagaloa-asiasi-nu'u ma Tagaloa-tolo-nu'u ma Tagaloa-sāvali ; ma Tuli fo'i ma Logonoa.

23. Ona fai atu lea o Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u, ia Tagaloa-te-fuli,

“Sau ia, ina e ali'i ile Lagi.” Ona ali'i ai le Tagaloa-lē-fuli i le Lagi.

24. Ona fai atu lea o Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u ia Tagaloa-sāvali, “Sau ia, ina e alu ma e tausavali i Lagi uma, e amata i le Lagituavalu e o'o lava i le Lagituatasi, e tala'i ifo e aofai a'e i le Lagituaiva, ua isi le ali'i o Tagaloa-lē-fuli.” Ona tala'iina lea ia o a'e i le Lagituaiva, ma asi ifo le fanau a Po ma Ao i le Lagituatasi.

25. Ona alu ifo lea Tagaloa-sāvali, ua o'o lava i le Lagi tuatasi ia Po ma Ao ma fesili ifo fa'apea ;—“Po ua isi la oulua fanau na tofia ai oulua”? ona tali mai lea, “Sau ia ; o la ma fanauga, nā ua fai i ai a ma tofiga, o Lagi-uli ma Lagi-mā.

26. O la la fanauga fo'i o fetu uma lava, ai ua lē manatua o igoa o fetu uma, auā sa tofu lava fetu ma igoa, a ua galo nei ina ua tia'i. Ai o le mavaega o Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u ia Po ma Ao, la te fanau au le Mata-o-le-Lagi o le mea lea na auina ifo ai Tagaloa-sāvali e fesili ia Po ma Ao i le Lagi-tua-tasi.

27. Ona tali atu ai lea o Po ma Ao, “Sau ia ; o lou toe nei tama e toafa e le'i tofia, o latou igoa :—Manu'a, o Samoa, o le La, o le Masina.”

28. O tama ia na mafua ai le igoa lea o Samoa ma Manu'a ; o le fanau i laua a Po ma Ao. O le igoa o le tusi o Sā-tia-i-le-moa, o lona uiga, o le tama na fai o le fanau ina ua taulia i le moa ; o le mea lea ua igoa ai o Sā-tia-i-le-moa, ai o Samoa lea ; a o le tasi ua fanau mai, ua ma'a-mulu-mulu le tasi itu ; ona fai ane lea o Ao ia Po, “Se ā le mea ua Manu'a tele ai lenei tama?” O le mea lea ua igoa ai lea tama ia Manu'a-tele.

29. Ona fai atu ai lea o Tagaloa-sāvali, “Ua lelei ; ina o mai ia ; o a'e i le Lagituaiva lea toafa ; a aofia i ai, e fai ai le fono ; ia o a'e ma oulua.” Ona aofia lea i le Lagituaiva, i le mea e nofo ai Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u ma Tagaloa-lē-fuli ; ona fai ai lea o le fono i le Lagituaiva, o le malae na fai ai le fono o Malae-a-toto'a.

30. Ona fai ai lea le tofiga i le Lagituaiva ; ona tofia lea le fanau a Ilu ma Mamao na i le Lagituavalu ia tufuga uma i latou ma ia latou o mai i lalo nei ; ai e atoa le toamano o i latou na tofia e fai ma tufuga ; e tasi lava lo latou igoa a Tagaloa uma lava. Ona fai ai lea le fale o Tagaloa-lē-fuli ; e le au tufuga i le Lagituaiva, ua igoa ai o le Fale-'ula.

31. Ona fai atu ai lea Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u ia Po ma Ao, “Ō ia tama na i lalo e fa'aali'itasi i le fanauga a le Fatu ma le 'Ele-'ele, a o i'u o laua igoa o le ā igoa ai. Tagaloa-lē-fuli, o le tupu lea i le Lagituaiva ; ona igoa ai lea o le tupu o Tui-o-Manu'a-tele ma Samoa atoa.

32. Ona fai atu lea o Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u ia Po ma Ao ;—“Ō na tama o La ma Masina, ia mulimuli ia te oulua ; a alu le Ao, ia mulimuli le La ; a alu fo'i le Po, alu atu ai fo'i ma le Masina.” O le ata o Tagaloa i laua ; ua taua fo'i i le lalolagi uma ; o le Masina o Tagaloa ; a ua fa'apea le tofiga a Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u ; “Ia tasi lava le itu lagi, e gasolo i ai ; e fa'apea fo'i ma fetu gasolo fa'atasi lava.

33. Ona fealualu mai lea Tagaloa-sāvali e asiasi i nu'u; na amata i le mea o i ai o le atu sasa'e; ona fa'atutupu lea o le atu nu'u; ona alu atu ai lea fa'atupu Fiti; ai ua mamao le vasa ma ua le lavā savali; ona tu lea ma fa'asaga i le Lagi, ia Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u atoa fo'i ma Tagaloa-lē-fuli; ona silasila ifo lea ia Tagaloa-sāvali; ona fa'a-tupuina ai lea o le atu Toga; ona tupu ai lea o lea lau-'ele-'ele.

34. Ona toe fa'asaga mai ai lea i Manu'a nei; ua va'ai fo'i i le lagi, ina ua le lavā fealu mai; ona silasila ifo lea Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u ma Tagaloa-lē-fuli, ona fa'atupu ai lea o Savai'i; ua tupu ai lea lau-'ele-'ele.

35. Ona toe alu lea o Tagaloa-sāvali i le lagi, ona fai atu lea;—
 “Ua maua nu'u le atu sasa'e ma le atu Fiti, ma le atu Toga, ma Savai'i.” Na uma ona tutupu ia nu'u, ona alu lea Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u i le Ao-uliuli e silasila i nu'u, ua fiafia; ua fetalai ane; “Ua lelei;” ona ia tu ai lea i tumutumu o mauga e solisoli i ai ia saunia lelei e nonofo ai tagata. Ona ia fo'i ai lea. Ona fai mai lea Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u, “Sau ia; ina e fo'i i lou ala, ina ave ia atu ma sasa'e;” o le uluga aiga; ua igoa ai le atu sasa'e uma; o tagata laua mai le lagi mai le fanauga a Tagaloa.

36. Ona toe alu lea o Tagaloa-sāvali i le atu Fiti, ua na ave fo'i le toafua, o le ulugā aiga, e igoa ia Atu ma Fiti, ua igoa ai le Atu-nu'u i le Atu-Fiti mai le fanau uma a Tagaloa.

37. Ona fa'asaga lea i Toga; ua ave fo'i i ai le ulugā aiga; e igoa ia Atu ma Toga; la te fa'atagataina lea atu nu'u; ua igoa ai o le Atu-Toga; o tagata lava i laua o Tagaloa.

38. Ona toe fo'i mai lea Tagaloa-sāvali i Manu'a nei; ia le Fatu ma le 'Ele-'ele, i la la fanauga; e fa'atagata leni itu lalolagi, auā o le poloaiga mai le lagi ia Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u ia alu ane ia le Fatu ma le 'Ele-'ele. Ona ave ai lea o Valu'a ma Ti'apa la te fa'atagataina Savai'i; o le fanauga i laua o le Fatu ma le 'Ele-'ele, o tagata i laua mai Manu'a nei; e tasi lava Savai'i ma Manu'a nei; ua fanau ia i laua o I'i ma Sava; o I'i le teine, o Sava le tama; ua tagata ai lea motu, ua igoa ai o Savai'i.

39. Ona toe sau lea Tagaloa-sāvali i Manu'a nei; ona tu ai lea ma fa'asaga i le lagi, peiseai se talotalo ua fai; ona silasila ifo lea o Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u, ona tupu a'e lea o le lau-'ele-'ele o Upolu. Ona toe fa'asaga lea Tagaloa-sāvali i le lagi ia Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u, ona silasila ifo lea Tagaloa mai le lagi ona tupu ai lea le lau-'ele-'ele o Tutuila.

40. Ona li'u i le lagi Tagaloa-sāvali ma fai atu; “Ua ou mana lua nu'u e mapu ai.” Ma na fai atu Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u; “Sau ia; ina e alu ma le Fue-tagata; e ave lava e tu'u ifoifo i le La; faitalia ia e fanau ai; a e iloa ua fanauia a tau mai.” Ona ave lea ua tu'u i Salēa-au-mua i se malae ua igoa nei ia Malae-lā, ona evaeva lea Tagaloa-sāvali, ona asiasi ane i le mea ua tu'u ai le Fue; alu atu ua fanau. Ona toe fo'i lea e tau atu ai ia Tagaloa-fa'a-

tutupu-nu'u, ua fanau le Fue, ona fa'atoaalu ifo ai lea Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u; ua alu i ai; ua silasila atu ua fanau ua pei o ni ilo; ua maeu le tele o ilo; ona toe faia lea e Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u ua totonu, ina ia iloga ai o ulu ma mata ma lima ma vae, ua atoa o tino ua pei o tagata; ua avane i ai loto ma agaga; ona tutupu ai lea tagata e toafa o lea; ua fa'atagataina ai o lea lau-'ele-'ele; ua tupu ai o Tele ma Upolu, o fanau i laua a le Fue; o Tutu ma Ila, e to'olua lea, o fanau i latou nei a le Fue; e toafa, o Tele ma Upolu, o Tutu ma Ila. Ona tu'u lea Tele ma Upolu e fa'atagataina le nu'u lea o Upolu-tele; a o Tutu ma Ila la te fa'atagataina le laueleele ua igoa nei o Tutuila.

41. O Fue le alo o Tagaloa na alu ifo mai le lagi, e lua ona igoa, o le Fue-tagata ma le Fue-sā, ua na fa'atagataina i ia lau-'ele-'ele e lua.

42. Ona faia lea o mavaega o Tagaloa, ua fa'apea;—"Aua lava le sopoia Manu'a; afai e sopoia, ona malaia lea, a ia ta'itasi ma pule i lona lava lau-'ele-'ele.

43. Ua fa'agata nei le tala i le tupuaga o Samoa ma Manu'a i le mavaega na fai i le Malae-lā.

TRANSLATION.

*13. The god Tangaloa dwelt in the Expanse; he made all things; he alone was [there]; not any sky, not any country; he only went to and fro in the Expanse; there was also no sea, and no earth; but, at the place where he stood there grew up a rock. Tangaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u was his name; all things were about to be made, by him, for all things were not yet made; the sky was not made nor any thing else; but there grew up a Rock on which he stood.

14. Then Tangaloa said to the Rock, 'Be thou split up.' Then was brought forth Papa-taoto; after that, Papa-sosolo; then Papa-lau-a'au; then Papa-'ano-'ano; then Papa-'ele; then Papa-tu; then Papa-'amu-'amu and his children.

15. But Tangaloa stood facing the west, and spoke to the Rock. Then Tangaloa struck the Rock with his right hand, and it split open towards the right side. Then the Earth was brought forth (that is the parent of all the people in the world), and the Sea was brought forth. Then the Sea covered the Papa-sosolo; and Papa-nofo [that is, Papa-taoto] said to Papa-sosolo, 'Blessed are you in [the possession of] your sea.' Then said Papa-sosolo 'Don't bless me; the sea will soon reach you too.' All the rocks in like manner called him blessed.

16. Then Tangaloa turned to the right side, and the Fresh-water sprang up. Then Tangaloa spake again to the Rock, and the Sky was produced. He spake again to the Rock and Tui-te'e-langi was brought forth; then came forth Ilu, 'Immensity,' and Mamao, 'Space,' came (that was a woman); then came Niua.

*The numbers here correspond to those in the Samoan text; those in the notes refer to the introduction and to those given above in the translation.—EDITORS.

17. Tangaloa spake again to the Rock; then Lua'o, a boy, came forth. Tangaloa spake again to the Rock, and Lua-vai, a girl, came forth. Tangaloa appointed these two to the Sā-tua-langi.

18. Then Tangaloa spoke again, and Aoa-lālā, a boy was born, and [next] Ngao-ngao-le-tai, a girl; then came Man; then came the Spirit; then the Heart; then the Will; then Thought.

19. That is the end of Tangaloa's creations which were produced from the Rock; they were only floating about on the sea*; there was was no fixedness there.

20. Then Tangaloa made an ordinance to the rock and said:—

(1) Let the Spirit and the Heart and Will and Thought go on and join together inside the Man; and they joined together there and man became intelligent. And this was joined to the earth ('ele-ele'), and it was called Fatu-ma-le-'Ele-'ele, as a couple, † Fatu the man, and 'Ele-'ele, the woman.

(2) Then he said to Immensity and Space, 'Come now; you two be united up above in the sky with your boy Niua'o, then they went up; there was only a void, nothing for the sight to rest upon.

(3) Then he said to Lua-'o and Lua-vai, 'Come now, you two, that the region of fresh-water may be peopled.'

(4) But he ordains Aoa-lālā and Ngao-ngao-le-tai to the sea, that they two may people the sea.

(5) And he ordains Le-Fatu and Le-'Ele-'ele, that they people this side; he points them to the left-hand side, opposite to Tua-langi.

(6) Then Tangaloa said to Tui-te'e-langi, 'Come here now; that you may prop up the sky.' Then it was propped up; it reached up on high. But it fell down because he was not able for it. Then Tui-te'e-langi went to Masoa and Teve; he brought them and used them as props; then he was able. (The *masoa* and the *teve* were the first plants that grew, and other plants came afterwards). Then the sky remained up above, but there was nothing for the sight to rest upon. There was only the far-receding sky, reaching to Immensity and Space.

* Compare with this the story of Kahu's discovery of the Chatham Islands: "Ko te taenga mai o Kahu ki tenei motu, roko hanga mai e teretere noa iho ana, na Kahu i tutakitaki katoa tenei motu puta noa atu ki Rangiauria." "On the arrival of the Kahu at this island (Chatham Island) he found it floating about; it was Kahu who closed (fixed) all this island, including Pitt Island." There are other Polynesian myths of the same character.—EDITORS.

† NOTE.—Mr. Powell's manuscript, under date March 21, 1871, has this note:—"To-day Tana-nu'u has explained to me the reason of his reluctance to disclose his traditions; he is afraid lest contention arise, when it is found that they place Savai'i and Upōlu in a position inferior to his own islands of Manu'a. When I promised due care, he opened his treasures more fully. He states that (1) 'Ele-'ele is distinct from Fatu-ma-le-'Ele-'ele; that was the name given to the first man, who was only at first floating about on the waters with 'Ele-'ele. Fatu-ma-le-'Ele-'ele was formed by the union of Spirit, Heart, Will, and Thought, and was appointed to people the lands in conjunction with 'Ele-'ele 'Earth,' but Le-'Ele-'ele was different, and Fatu was different from 'Ele-'ele.

THE PRODUCTION OF THE NINE HEAVENS.

21. Then Immensity and Space brought forth offspring; they brought forth Po and Ao, 'Night and Day', and this couple was ordained by Tangaloa to produce the 'Eye of Sky,' [the Sun]. Again Immensity and Space brought forth Le-Langi; that is the Second Heavens; for Tui-te'e-langi went forth to prop it up and the sky became double; and Immensity and Space remained there, and they peopled the sky. Then again Langi brought forth, and Tui-te'e-langi went fourth and propped it up; that was the Third Heavens; that was peopled by Immensity and Space. Then Langi bore again; that was the Fourth Heavens. Tui-te'e-langi went forth to prop it up; that heaven also was peopled by Ilu and Mamao. Then Langi bore again; that was the Fifth Heavens. Then went forth Tui-te'e-langi to prop it up; that heaven also was peopled by Ilu and Mamao. Langi brought forth again; that was the Sixth Heavens. And Tui-te'e-langi went and propped it up; that heaven was peopled by Ilu and Mamao. Then Langi bore again; that was the Seventh Heavens. And Tui-te'e-langi went forth and propped it up; that heaven was peopled by Ilu and Mamao. Then Langi again brought forth; that was called the Eighth Heavens. Tui-te'e-langi went to prop up that heaven; and that heaven was peopled by Ilu and Mamao. Then again Langi brought forth; that was the Ninth Heavens; and it was propped up by Tui-te'e-langi; and that heaven was peopled by Ilu and Mamao; Then ended the productiveness of Ilu and Mamao; it reached to the Ninth Heavens.

THE PRODUCTION OF OTHER GODS,

22. Then Tangaloa sat [still]; he is well known as Tangaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u; then he created Tangaloa-lē-fuli, and Tangaloa-asiasi-nu'u, and Tangaloa-tolo-nu'u, and Tangaloa-sāváli, and Tuli also, and Longonoa.

23. Then said Tangaloa, the creator, to Tangaloa-lē-fuli, 'Come here; be thou chief in the heavens.' Then Tangaloa, 'the immoveable,' was chief in the heavens.

24. Then Tangaloa, the creator, said to Tangaloa-sāváli, 'the messenger,' 'Come here; be thou ambassador in all the heavens, beginning from the Eighth Heavens down to the First Heavens, to tell them all to gather together in the Ninth Heavens, where Tangaloa, the immoveable, is chief. Then proclamation was made that they should go up to the Ninth Heavens, and then visit below the children of Night and Day in the First Heavens.

25. Then Tangaloa, the messenger, went down to Night and Day in the First Heavens, and asked them thus:—'Have you two any children appointed to you?' And they answered, 'Come here; these two are our children, appointed to us, Langi-'uli and Langi-mā.

26. All the stars also were their offspring, but we do not have the names of all the stars (the stars had each its own name), for they are forgotten now, because they dropped out of use. And surely the last injunction of Tangaloa, the creator, to Night and Day was that they should produce the Eye-of-the-Sky. That was the reason Tangaloa, the messenger, went down to ask Night and Day in the First Heavens [if they had any children].

27. Then answered Night and Day, 'Come now; there remain four boys that are not yet appointed,—Manu'a, Sāmoa, the Sun, and the Moon.'

28. These are the boys that originated the names of Sāmoa and Manu'a; these two were the children of Night and Day. The name of the one is Sā-tia-i-le-moa, 'obstructed by the chest'; the meaning of which is this:—the boy seemed as if he would not be born, because he was caught by the chest; therefore it was he was called Sā-tia-i-le-moa, that is, Sāmoa; the other was born with one side abraded ('manu'a'); then said Day to Night 'Why is this child so greatly wounded?' therefore the child was called 'Manu'a-tele.'

29. Then said Tangaloa, the messenger, 'It is good; come now; go up into the Ninth Heavens, you four; all are about to gather together there to form a Council; go up you two also.' Then they all gathered together in the Ninth Heavens,—the place where dwelt Tangaloa, the creator, and Tangaloa, the immovable; the Council was held in the Ninth Heavens; the ground where they held the Council was Malaē-a-Toto'a, 'the council ground of Tranquillity.'

30. Then various decrees were made in the Ninth Heavens; the children of Ilu and Mamoa were appointed all of them to be builders, and to come down from the Eighth Heavens to this [earth] below; perhaps they were ten thousand in all that were appointed to be builders; they had one name all were [called] Tangaloa. Then they built houses for the Tangaloa; but the builders did not reach to the Ninth Heavens—the home of Tangaloa-lē-fuli—which was called the 'Bright House' [fale-'ula].

31. Then said Tangaloa, the creator, to Night and Day:—'Let those two boys go down below to be chiefs over the offsprings of Fatu and 'Ele-'ele.' But to the end of the names of the two boys was attached the name of Tangaloa-lē-fuli who is king ('tupu') of the Ninth Heavens; hence the [Samoan] kings ('tupu') were named 'Tui o Manu'a-tele ma Samoa atoa.'

32. Then Tangaloa, the creator, said to Night and Day:—'Let those two boys, the Sun and the Moon, go and follow you two; when day comes, let the Sun follow; also when Night comes, the Moon too comes on.' These two are the shades of Tangaloa; they are well-known in all the world; the Moon is the shade of Tangaloa; but thus runs the decree of Tangaloa, the creator,—Let there be one portion of

the heavens, in which they pass along ; in like manner also shall the Stars pass along.'

33. Then Tangaloa, the messenger, went to and fro to visit the land ; his visit began in the place where are (now) the Eastern groups ; these groups were made to spring up ; then he went off to cause the group of Fiji to grow up ; but the space between seemed so far off that he could not walk it ; then he stood there and turned his face to the Sky, [praying] to Tangaloa, the creator, and Tangaloa, the immovable ; Tangaloa looked down to Tangaloa, the messenger ; and he made the Tongan group spring up ; then that land sprang up.

34. Then he turns his face to this Manu'a ; and looks up to the heavens, for he is unable to move about ; then Tangaloa, the creator, and Tangaloa, the immovable, looked down, and caused Savai'i to spring up ; then that land grew up.

35. Then Tangaloa, the messenger, went back to the heavens, and said—' We have (now) got countries, the Eastern group and the Fiji group, and the Tongan group, and Savai'i.' Then, as all these lands were grown up, Tangaloa, the creator, went down in a black cloud to look at the countries, and he delighted in them ; and he said, 'It is good ;' then he stood on the top of the mountains to tread them down, that the land might be prepared for people to dwell in. Then he returned [on high]. And Tangaloa, the creator, said [to Tangaloa, the messenger],—' Come now ; go back by the road you came ; take people to possess the Eastern groups ; take Atu and Sasa'e ; that is a pair ; they were called conjointly Atu-Sasae ; these two people came from the heavens from among the children of Tangaloa.

36. Then Tangaloa, the messenger, went again to the Fiji group ; he also again took two persons, a pair—their names were Atu and Fiji—from among all the children of Tangaloa ; so that group of islands was called Atu-Fiji.

37. Then he turned his face towards Tonga ; he took [with him] a couple ; their names were Atu and Tonga ; these two peopled that group of islands ; their names were the Atu-Tonga ; these two were the people of Tangaloa.

38. Then Tangaloa, the messenger, came back to this Manu'a, to Le-Fatu and Le-'Ele-'ele and their children ; because the command of Tangaloa, the creator, [had gone forth] from the heavens, that Le-Fatu and Le-'Ele-'ele should go there to people this side of the world. Then went out Valu'a and Ti'āpā to people Savai'i ; these two are the children of Le-Fatu and Le-'Ele-'ele ; these two people are from this Manu'a ; Savai'i and this Manu'a are one ; these two were the parents of I'i and Sava ; I'i was the girl, and Sava was the boy ; that island was peopled by them, and was named Savai'i.

39. And Tangaloa, the messenger, went again to this Manu'a ; then he stood and faced the sky, as if he were making a prayer ; then

Tangaloa, the creator looked down, and the land of Upólu sprang up. Then Tangaloa, the messenger, stood and again faced the heavens towards Tangaloa, the creator; and Tangaloa, the creator, looked down from the heavens, and the land of Tutuila sprang up.

40. Then Tangaloa, the messenger, turned to the heavens, and said, 'Two lands are now gotten for me to rest in. And Tangaloa, the creator, said, 'Come now, go you with the Peopling-vine; take it and place it outside in the sun; leave it there to bring forth; when you see it has brought forth, tell me.' Then he took it and placed it in Salēa-au-mua, a council-ground, which is now called the Malae-of-the-sun. Then Tangaloa, the messenger, was walking to and fro; and he visited the place where the Fœ was; he went there and it had brought forth. Then he went back again to tell Tangaloa, the creator, that the Fœ had brought forth. Then Tangaloa, the creator, first went down; he went to it; he looked, and it had brought forth something like worms; wonderful was the multitude of worms; then Tangaloa, the creator, shred them into stripes, and fashioned them into members, so that the head, and the face, and the hands, and the legs were distinguishable; the body was now complete, like a man's body; he gave them heart and spirit; four persons grew up; so this land was peopled; there grew up Tele and Upólu, which are the children of the Fœ; Tutu and Ila, that is a pair; these are the children of Fœ; four persons, Tele and Upólu, Tutu and Ila. Tele and Upólu were placed to people the land of Upolu-tele; but Tutu and Ila, they two were to people the land now called Tutuila.

41. Fœ, the son of Tangaloa, that came down from heaven, had two names, Fœ-tangata and Fœ-sā; he peopled the two flat lands.

42. Then Tangaloa gave his parting command thus; 'Always show respect to Manu'a; if any one do not, he will be overtaken by calamity; but let each one do as he likes with his own lands.'

43. [Here] the story of the creation of Sāmoa finishes with this parting command, which was given at Malae-lā.

NOTES TO THE STORY OF CREATION.

PAR. 1. *Punjl*; for an account of Punjl and his works, see R. Brough Smyth's "Aborigines of Victoria," Vol. I., and for Baiamai, see Ridley's "Kamilaroi."

Baiamai; in the text I have given this form of the name, for it is the common one; but I think that it ought to be written Ba-ye-mai; for *ba* is the root 'to make,' *ba-yé* means 'one who makes,' and *mai* is a formative termination.

Kamalarai; this name for a native language and tribe in New South Wales has always been written Kamilaroi; but the composition of the word requires the spelling Kāmālarai, for it is made up of *ka* (dialect *ky a*) 'not,' *-mal* and *-arai* which are common formative suffixes.

Dhara-mulan; a demiurge figures in many of the ancient cosmogonies. The Egyptian demiurge Thoth created light for the world, while as yet there was no sun, and in the Orphic hymns, light exists before the sun; cf. note 4 s. v. *Aether*.

In the Kamalarai legends, Dhara-mulan seems to have a two-fold aspect, and hence the *-mulan* in his name may be the word *bula*, 'two.'

Breathed very hard; cf. "He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life." The Polynesian here and in other respects agrees with the Egyptian and the Hebrew Cosmogonies, which commence with chaos, regard light as anterior to the sun, postulate the moulding hand of a deity in creation and a divine breath as the source of life. The Polynesian cosmogony has also, the idea of the unity of God; for the gods are all Tangaloa. It agrees with the Avesta in tracing creation to the will of a deity and in ascribing perfection—"it is good"—to the thing created; Ahuramazda is the sole creator who made heaven and earth and men. In India also, the Self-existing One *by a thought* made the waters. The Babylonian Cosmogony considers water as the primal element from which life came; the Polynesian does not.

2. *Punji's brother*; cf. the relation of Zeus to Poseidon.

Cut into pieces; cf. the Hebrew verb *bâra*, 'to create,' which properly means 'to fashion,' 'to shape.'

Worms; cf. a subsequent note on *Fue-tagata*.

3. *The details thereof*; for these, see Rev. Dr. Gill's "Myths and Songs" and Sir George Grey's "Polynesian Mythology."

4. *Le atua Tagaloa*; this expression shows that this myth is not modern; for the word *atua*, 'god,' was almost obsolete when the first missionaries went to Samoa.

Aether; some commentators on Gen., I., 1-2 assert that the Ancient Jews believed the sky to be a solid vault, but that in its original state (verse 1) it was a liquid expanse; the 'separation' of the material of heaven and earth took place on the second day of creation (verses 6-8).

Envelopes; the Polynesian conception of the Heavens does not seem to include a belief that they encompass the world *all round* like a circle—not spheres, but crescent-shaped vaults. This also is the Hebrew notion; cf. "He that sitteth upon the circle of the earth; that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in" (Is. xl., 22). "He walketh in the circuit of heaven" (Job. xxii., 14).

Fale-ula; cf. the 'Solo o le Va.'

5. *Papa*; not a 'rock' in our sense of the word, but merely 'something flat and solid'; cf. Gen. I., 6-8. In the sense of 'foundation,' *papa* has numerous correspondences in the Hebrew Scriptures; cf. Isaiah xxxi., 17, "the earth's foundation quake"—the foundations which support the visible frame of the earth.

Separate fiats; this cosmogony is thus theistical, not pantheistical.

Prince Prop-up-sky; Tui-te'e-langi; his place here, among the physical creations of Tangaloa, shows that he is not a god—not a Tangaloa,—but a sort of physical Atlas.

The sky is lifted up; cf. the English word 'heaven' and the Scotch, 'lift.'

6. *Dull, inert mass*; it had the worm-life from the Fue-sā, but that was all.

7. *Southern side*; the limited knowledge which the ancients had of geography led them to regard the north as hyperborean; and thus the south was to them the habitable part of the globe.

8. *Sun and stars*; so also in Genesis I., the sun does not appear till the fourth day. In our myth, there is no mention of the moon till further on.

9. *Ninth Heavens*; 'three times three'; cf. the notes on this point in the Solo o le Va.' In the "Records of the past," we read of the 'nine gods, the masters of things,' and of a 'holy nine.' As the basis of their numeration, the Polynesians have—one, two, three; they have no knowledge of seven as a perfect number.

Tranquillity and peace; cf. the notes on this point in the 'Solo o le Va.'

For the occupation of man; it seems to me that whatever is essential to the Polynesian idea of creation is contained in this verse—"He that created (*bârâ*) the heavens" &c. (Is. xlii., 5) see below, note 13.

11. *Outside in the sun*; cf. the reverence given to the *scarabæus*, as a product of the Nile mud under the heat of the sun.

Fashioned into men; cf. Heb. *bârâ*, as above.

12. *Into member'd forms*; see the '*Solo o le Va*.'

13. *The god Tangaloa*. He is the great god of the Polynesians; cf. the notes on '*Solo o le Va*.'

The Expanse; '*va-nimo-nimo*' is the word used here. *Va* means space between any two things; it may be as small a space as that between two laths on a partition wall or the planking of a ship's deck; but it may include as much as the east is distant from the west; *nimo-nimo* means 'far, far distant.' I therefore take *va-nimo-nimo* to mean 'vastly extended space'—so vast that the mind cannot compass it. In Samoan, *nimo-nimo* is said of anything that has quite passed from the memory; and a lark soaring aloft, and thus going out of sight, would be said to be *nimo-nimo*. The word *mamao*, which occurs further on, also means 'space,' but it seems to differ from *va-nimo-nimo* in that it is used of a measurable distance between objects; it may be translated 'extension.' The difference may thus be translated, 'extension.' The difference may thus be that *va-nimo-nimo* is 'unlimited extension,' whereas *mamao* is 'limited extension.' In Genesis I., 6, the 'firmament' is the Hebrew *rakîā*, that which is 'spread out,' and seems to correspond with the 'expanse' here. In Genesis I., 2, "the Spirit of God moved ('brooded') on the face of the waters;" here it is said that Tangaloa *fe-alu-alu-mai*, 'goes backwards and forwards;' *alu* means 'go;' the prefix *fe* has a reciprocal force; *alu-alu* is a reduplication of intensity; the *-mai* is a formative termination. In the '*Solo o le Va*,' Tuli, which is the *ata* or spirit-emblem of Tangaloa-savali, is tired of moving to and fro, and desires a place to rest on; forthwith up sprang Manua's Rock. So also in this myth; where Tangaloa halted from his wandering to and fro, on that spot a Rock sprang up. In line 32 of that same Solo, the footstool of Tangaloa is called *taa-tuga*, 'that on which he stands;' with this compare "Heaven is my throne, earth is my footstool, . . . what is the place of my rest?" Here comes in the ancient idea that the heavens were a solid vault; cf. *Gr.* 'stereoun,' 'stereoma;' *Lat.* 'firmamentum.'

He made all things, '*na faia mea uma*;' with this compare, "And without him was not anything made that was made."

No earth; the word here is *lau-ele'ele*, which means land spread out; '*ele'ele* elsewhere is merely 'earth, soil, dirt,' the *lau* here prefixed denotes 'breadth;' cf. the 'broad-bosomed earth of Hesiod. With the meaning of *lau-ele'ele* compare Isaiah xlii., 5, "Thus saith God the Lord, he that created (cf. Heb. *bârâ*) the heavens, and stretched them out (cf. Samoan *va-nimo-nimo* and Heb. *rakîa*); he that spread forth the earth (cf. *lau-ele'ele*) and that which cometh out of it; he that giveth breath unto the people upon it (cf. '*Solo o le Va*'), and spirit (cf. *anga-anga*) to them that walk therein." The Hebrew verb there, '*rākâ*,' properly signifies to spread out by 'trampling' on with the feet, or 'beating' into thin plates. In Samoan, *lau* has a similar reference; for, of its compounds, *lau-lelei* means 'even, level,' *lau-papa* is a 'board, a plank,' *lau-tele* is 'wide,' and *lau* itself, as a prefix to verbs, denotes 'uniformity' and 'universality,' as if 'spread out.'

T-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u; here *fa'a* (dialects *ba-ka*, *fa-ka*, *wha-ka*) is a causative prefix to verbs, very abundantly used in Polynesian; *tupu*, as a verb, means 'to grow,' 'to spring up;' *tutupu* is its plural form; *nu'u*, means 'a country,' 'a district.' The whole name thus means 'Tangaloa, the creator of lands.'

A rock grew up; '*tupu ai le papa*.'

14. *Be thou split open*; 'māvae ia,' said of parturition; *māvae*, 'to open as a crack;' hence *māvava*, 'to yawn.'

Brought forth; the word is *fanau*, which is also applied to the extrusion of gum from trees. The next acts of creation are in the text expressed in each case, by *toe fanau*, 'again it brought forth,' but, for brevity, our translation says only 'after that;' 'then.' With *fanau* compare: "Before the mountains were brought forth." (*Heb.* yullād)—Psalm xc., 2.

Papa, 'rock;' it also means 'plain, level, flat,' and that meaning is in harmony with the 'spread out' of the note above. To the Polynesian myth-makers, their mountains, being mostly volcanic, do not belong the earliest stages of creation. The various kinds of 'papa' are indicated by the epithets attached—viz., *ta'oto*, 'to lie down;' *sosolo*, 'to run,' 'to spread like creeping-plants;' *lau-a'au*, 'resembling a flat reef' (*a'au* is a 'reef,' and to 'swim;' *lau* denotes uniformity); '*ano-ano* is 'honey-comb;' '*ele* is a sort of volcanic mud or shale, so soft that it can be cut with an axe; *tu* means 'to stand' (its derivative, *tugā*, means 'standing in the way,' as a rock in the middle of the road); '*amu-amu* is a kind of 'branching coral,' branching like fingers.

Children; the word here is *pau*, not *fanau*, 'offspring.'

15. *Facing the west*; in the ancient auguries and other ceremonials, the position of the celebrant was important.

Towards the right. Mr. Powell says here—"In the direction of *tualagi*, 'the back of the sky' the north," cf. Ovid *Meta.* I. 2, 45. 'Right' and 'left' are equivalent to 'north' and 'south,' cf. Ps. lxxxix., 12; Is. liv., 3. To the Kelts of Scotland and Ireland, the 'right' hand is still the 'south' hand (*deas* for *deaks*, 'right;' cf. *Gr.* *dex-ios*, *Lat.* *dex-ter*, 'right'); because when the face is turned towards the east, the south is on the right. An old custom among them—said to have come down from the Druids—is called *deas-iùil*, 'a turn to the right;' because, in all their solemn processions, the company, in order to secure a blessing, turns to the right, and, keeping the object on the right, marches round it 'three times' in the same direction as the daily course of the sun. The motion in a contrary way is *car-tual*, and is considered unlucky; in Lowland Scotch this is called a 'widdersins motion.'

World; *lalo-lagi*, 'under-the-sky.'

Earth; '*ele-ele*;' this is a reduplication of '*ele*, 'red-earth,' 'rust,' 'dirt,' 'blood;' see '*ele-ele*.' It is interesting to remember here that the Hebrew word *adāmāh* (cf. *Adam*), 'the earth,' 'the tilled ground,' comes from a root meaning to be 'red,' and is applied also to the 'dust' which mourners use.

That is the parent, &c. With this compare, "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground."

The sea; *sami*, 'the salt water' (*Lat.* *sal*), not *tai*. In Genesis i., 10, as here also, 'the seas' (*Heb.* *yāmim*) are gathered together when the dry land (*Heb.* *yābēsh*, 'anything that is dried up or becomes dry') appears. The Samoan word *tai* means 'the sea, the tide;' the distinction between it and *sami* seems to be that *tai* is the sea where it flows upon the land, but *sami* is the big salt ocean.

Papa-nofo probably is 'the rock (or rocks) that remained' uncovered. The idea of the myth-maker here seems to be that the *sami* at first had not depth of water enough to cover anything but the *papa-sosolo*; but that ere long the waters would rise and reach the other rocks also, and so make them happy (*amuia*, 'blessed,' used in congratulations).

16. *Fresh-water*, '*vai*;' as in the '*Solo o le Va*,' so here; the *vai* comes immediately after the *tai*.

Your sea. The word here is *tai*; cf. the note on *sami*.

Brought forth; *produced*; *come forth*; in the text these are always '*fanau*.'

Sky; '*lagi*;' pronounced *langi* (i = Italian i). Everywhere, the Samoan *g* = *ng*

A cognate word is the Melanesian *laga*, 'clear.'

Tui-te'e-lagi; *tui*, 'a high chief, a prince, a king;' *te'e*, 'to prop up;' *lagi*, 'the sky.' The Australian blacks also know that the sky is propped up; once the props broke, and the wizards (*koráji*) had the utmost difficulty in putting things right again.

Ilu, &c.; these three, *Ilu*, *Mamao*, and *Niuao* do not come into existence till after the sky is propped up: hence *mamao*, as I think, must mean 'limited extension' or 'space' from horizon to horizon, from sunrise to sunset; *niuao* is formed from *niu*, 'a cocoa-nut tree;' the Samoans say of a very tall man that he 'a walking cocoa-nut tree;' of smoke they say *fa'a-niu tu*, 'it stands like a cocoa-nut tree;' and in the Samoan Bible the missionaries have applied the expression to the 'pillar of fire' in the wilderness; and so, I think, that *niuao* must mean 'height.' The Samoan word *ilu* means 'innumerable,' 100,000, or any vast number; in its place in the text it cannot well refer to the stars in the sky; we may translate it 'immensity,' and apply it to distance from north to south. *Ilu*, *Mamao*, and *Niuao* would thus be the three dimensions formed by the bounding sky—viz., Length, Breadth, and Height, each of them, however, limited by the sky. Cf. the note on *the Expanse*.

17. *Lua'o* and *Luavai*; *lua-vai* means 'two fresh-waters;' *lua'o* should, I think, be *luā-o*, for *lua-ao*, 'two clouds.'

Sā-tua-lagi; the 'race' at the 'back' of the 'sky;' the north.

18. *Ngao-ngao-le-tai*. 'the desolate sea.'

'Came;' 'came forth;' the text has still the same *toe fanau*, 'again was brought forth.'

Man; 'tangata,' the human race. Last to be created was man, and the elements which are joined together to make up his composite being. These are—*anga-nga*, 'the spirit,' probably from the same root as *nga'e*, 'to breathe hard;' hence the 'breath,' the 'spirit,' in the same sense as the Heb. *ruāch*, Gr. *psuche*, Lat. *spiritus*, *animus*, Sans. *âtman*; in Samoan *anga-nga* also means 'a disembodied spirit'—*loto*, the 'heart or affections,' not the physical heart—*finagalo* 'the will,' also the 'liver;' *finagalo* is a word used only to chiefs; *finagaloa* means, 'to be angry,' 'choleric.' The next name, *masalo*, properly means 'doubt,' but this appears to be a secondary meaning, for 'doubt' arises from that power which enables the mind to cast things to and fro in reflection, and hence to deliberate; *masalo* is therefore here taken to be 'thought,' 'the power of thought.' These four Tangaloa causes to go within man's physical frame, and combine there; and thus man becomes 'intelligent, wise,' See also Ovid, *Meta*. i., 1.

In Is. xlii., 5—the verse already quoted—the breath and the spirit (*neshâmâh* and *ruāch*) are distinguished; the one is the animal spirit or life; the other is the spirit which gives consciousness. Similarly, the Melanesians and Polynesians believe that man has two spirits—the one may leave him for a time when he is dreaming or in a faint; the other finally leaves his body at death.

19. *No fixture*; *ua leai se mea a mau ai*, 'there was no thing to be fast to;' *ope-opea*, 'they floated about.' Cf. "The earth was without form and void;" cf. also Ovid, *Meta*, i., 1.

An ordinance; 'tofiga.' This word comes from the verb *tofi*, 'to divide an inheritance,' 'to apportion a father's property among children.' Tangaloa's *tofiga* is thus the exercise of his sovereign pleasure in allotting to his children their several stations and spheres of action, as indicated in the five paragraphs which follow.

Intelligent, 'atamai.' As a verb this word means 'to understand;' as an adjective, 'clever, intelligent, sensible;' as a noun, 'the mind.' The Samoan *ata* denotes the incorporeal shadow or spirit, as opposed to the substance of a thing; and *atamai* may be a derivative from it; so also the French *esprit* and *spirituel* are related. The Sanskrit *âtman* also means 'the breath, the soul, the under-

standing,' and its derivative *âtmanavant* means 'sensible,' 'self-controlled;' *âtman* is supposed to be derived from a root *ava*, *vâ*; with which compare the Heb. *hâvâ* 'to breathe.'

Fatu-ma-le-'ele'ele; 'seed-stone and earth.' *Fatu* is a word which, in various forms, is found in all Malaysia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, in the sense of 'hard,' 'anything hard,' 'the hard kernel or seed-stone of fruit.' For the meaning of *le-'ele'ele*, see above; but *Le-'Ele'ele* is here regarded as a woman, who, by the ordinance (*tofiga*) of Tangaloa is united (*fa'a-tasi*, 'joined,' lit. 'made-one') to *Fatu*, the completed man. *Fatu* is the seed-giving principle, and *Le-'Ele'ele* is the receptacle of the seed. With this compare the tales in classic authors about *De-méter* ('Mother-earth') and *Zeus*.

A void; 'va-nimo-nimo;' see note above. *To rest upon*; lit. 'to reach to.' All this corresponds with the Heb. 'tohu' (chaos) of creation—a waste in which nothing was defined.

Region; *itu*, 'a side,' 'a district;' *itu i matū*, 'the north;' cf. Heb. 'the sides of the north,' *yârekâthaim tzâphôn* (Isaiah xiv., 13) where *tzâphôn* is the region of 'darkness' (cf. Homer, *pros zophon*, *Odys.* ix., 25) 'the north quarter,' and *yârekâthaim* is a dual form to mean 'both sides,' hence 'the buttocks,' 'the back,' 'the remotest parts of a country.' This agrees with the idea conveyed by *tua-lagi* 'the back of the sky,' to which *Lua'o* and *Luavai* were appointed, to be regents there. *Fresh-water* is 'vai.' In the 'Solo o le Va,' line 21, the creation of *vai* and *tai* is mentioned. The Polynesians believed that there were reservoirs of fresh-water up in the sky. In the Biblical account of the great Flood, it is said that 'the windows of heaven were opened.'

Le Fatu: see note above. *Ordains*; 'tofia;' cf. ordinance, 'tofiga.'

Points; *tusi*, 'to point out' with the index finger.

Masoa and *Teve* are both referred to in the 'Solo o le Va,' lines 73, 75. The *Masoa* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) is the arrow-root tree; growing on a succulent stem, with leaves only at the top, where they spread out like the surface of a round table. The *Teve* (*Tacca amorphophallus*) is another kind of arrow-root tree, very like the *Masoa*. From their shape they are well fitted for the purpose to which they are applied in these myths. See also Sir Geo. Grey's "Polynesian Mythology."

There was nothing, &c.; 'a na leai se mea e taunu'u i ai le va'ai.'

Far-receding sky; 'va-nimo-nimo.' See notes above.

21. *They brought forth*; the text has 'ua fanau Ao, toe fanau Po;' another reading is, 'ua fanau Po ma Ao, ua fa'a-tagata-ina ai le lagi,' 'they brought forth Night and Day, who caused-to-be-peopled the sky.' The order *Po ma Ao*, 'Night and Day,' is more consonant with the ideas of the Polynesians who counted by nights. The word *fa'atagataina* consists of *fa'a* the causative prefix already noticed, and *tagata*, 'man,' 'mankind,' which in another dialect is *kanaka*, now commonly applied to the 'labour-men' who are brought from the islands of the South Seas to the northern parts of Australia.

The eye of the sky; 'le mata o le lagi.' The Malays call the Sun *mata-ari*, 'the eye of the day.' The Egyptian City, On, (Heb. 'Ir-ha-Heres, Gr. Heliopolis) 'the city of the Sun,' got its name from Ain, Oin, 'the eye'—the emblem of the Sun.

The second heavens. Here the Polynesians believe, like other nations of old, that the sky originally lay flat on the earth, and covered it; by the aid of the *Masoa* and the *Teve*, *Tui-te'e-lagi* props it up, and this gives room for *Ilu* and *Mamao* to work; this is the First Heavens; in it are placed the Sun, and Night, and Day. *Ilu* and *Mamao* then bear again, and the Sky ('le lagi'), according to the myth, is produced; this probably means the region above the clouds, for the Polynesian myth-makers must have noticed the difference between cloud-land and the higher sky; this *Tui* propped up, and it was the Second Heavens.

Remained there—i.e., in the Third Heavens, which they peopled. The heavens above the Third are, in the myth, produced (*fanau*) by Langi, the 'sky' personified, but they were all peopled by Ilu and Mamao. The notion that the stars in the heavens are gods, and men, and beasts, and trees, &c., is a very old one.

22. *Tangaloa sat still.* In the 'Solo o le Va,' he is represented as a quiet, contemplative god, who delights in tranquillity and peace—the Polynesian Brahmā, the origin and source of all things. In his active manifestations he is *fa'a-tutupu-nuu* (see note on *par.* 13), 'the creator of lands;' but in his dealings with men he works by intermediary emanations from himself, which are all of them persons, and called Tangaloa; *le fuli* is the 'immoveable' (*le* 'not,' *fuli*, 'to turn over,' 'to capsize'); *asi-asi-nu'u*, 'the omnipresent' (*asi*, 'to visit;' *asi-asi*, a frequentative; *nu'u*, 'a district, a country, a people'); *tolo-nu'u*, 'the extender of lands, or peoples' (*tolo*, to spread out;' it applies to reefs that run out into the sea, branches that spread out from the tree, or roots running along on the surface of the ground); *sāvāli*, 'the ambassador or messenger' (*sāvāli* means 'to walk').

Tuli and *Longonoa* both mean 'deaf' or 'deafness,' but that meaning cannot apply to these workers of Tangaloa. In the 'Solo o le Va,' *Tuli* is the bird-*'ata'* or emblem of Tangaloa; so also here, I believe. As to *Longonoa*, the simple verb *logo*, means 'to report; hence I take *Longonoa* to be 'the reporter,' the one who carries tidings up to Tangaloa; *logonoa* means 'to hear,' and *logo-logoā* is 'famous, renowned.' *Logonoa* would thus be used as a verbal adjective; and in form it corresponds with such verbs as *tala-noa* from *tala*. The *Longo-noa* here may be the same as the *Rongo* of other islands.

24. *They should go up.* The context means that *Savali*, 'the messenger,' was sent down to summon a *fono* or council of the gods whose stations had been appointed in the various heavens below, and tell them that *they should go up* to the Ninth Heavens to deliberate there. This was a council of chiefs, for these gods are called *ali'i*, 'chiefs.' The *fono* determined to send *Savali* down with a message to Night and Day.

25. *Langi-uli*, 'the dark, cloudy heavens;' *Langi-mā*, 'the bright clear heavens,' called also *Langi-lelei* (*lelei*, 'good, beautiful'). *Uli* means 'black,' dark blue.'

26. *Last injunction; mavaega*, 'a parting command.'

27. *Manu'a* and *Samoa*. The pride of the race comes in here; *Manu'a* is the child of Night and Day, and is the brother of the Sun and Moon. The ruler of the 'Celestial Empire' even cannot claim a more ancient lineage than that!

28. *Sa-tia-le-moa*. On this fabulous account of the origin of the names *Sāmoa* and *Manu'a*, Mr. Powell's MSS. have this note:—This affair of the names is in a very confused state. A man, *Taua-nu'u*, who is 'keeper of the traditions' for *Taū*, told me lately that *Tangaloa* fell from a precipice on to *Malae-a-Vavāu*, and was badly wounded, and from that circumstance *Tau* was called *Manu'a tele*, 'greatly wounded.' Several persons told Mr. Pratt and myself, in 1862, that the whole group is named *Sāmoa*, from *Moa*, the family name of the present King of *Manu'a*—*Sāmoa* or *Sā-moa-atoa*. *Fofu* and *Taua-nu'u* still maintain that the account given to Mr. Pratt and myself is perfectly correct, and that *le atu o Moa* ('the *Moa* group') includes *Samoa*, *Tahiti*, &c., &c.

You two also; i.e., the father and the mother with their four boys.

Malae-a-toto'a. It is a peaceful region, a land of rest and tranquillity; it is the glassy empyrean, beyond the reach of storms.

30. *Builders; tūfuga.* See the 'Solo o le Va.'

Bright house. This paragraph seems to mean that the palace in the Ninth Heavens was not their work, although they built in all the heavens below. *Fale-*

'*ula** is the 'bright house'; *fale*, 'a house,' '*ula*, 'red,' 'joyful,' 'bright'; hence the name means 'house of joy,' or 'the house beautiful.'

Offspring of Fatu and 'Ele'ele. All the children of Earth are placed under the command of these two chiefs, Manu'a and Sāmoa.

Tail of the names. Chiefs often have the name Tangaloa as the last part of their own names.

Tui, &c., 'King of great Manu'a and all Samoa.' *Tui* also means 'king,' 'high chief.'

32. *Follow.* The sun and the moon are not here the cause of day and night; they only follow them. The day breaks, then comes the sun; darkness falls, and ere long the moon rises.

Shades; ata, 'shade,' 'emblem.' The '*ata*' or 'spirit' of Tangaloa resides in them, as in the *Tuli*; see note on *par. 22*.

Portion of the heavens; itu, 'side,' see notes on *par. 20*. The moon and the stars always pass along the sky in the same direction.

33. *Went to and fro; 'fe-alu-alu-mai';* cf. notes on *par. 13*. *To visit the lands; 'asi-asi i nu'u.'* Here Savali performs the functions *Tangaloa asi-asi nu'u*, another manifestation of the supreme god; in visiting these lands he assumed the form of the *Tuli*; cf. the '*Solo o le Va*.'

The Eastern groups; that is, Tahiti and the adjacent islands.

The space between; 'vasa,' that is, the ocean-space between two islands.

Walk it; 'savali,' in allusion to his name.

Turned his face; fa'asaga, 'to direct to,' 'to face to.'

The Tongan group; which is placed as a stepping-stone between the Eastern group and Fiji. That land; 'lau-'ele'ele'; see note on *par. 13*.

34. *This Manu'a; the land of the poet's birth.*

Move about; 'fe-alu-mai,'—not the frequentative form this time. The meaning is that Manu'a was too small an island, and so the land ('*lau-'ele'ele*) of Savai'i was created. Therefore in poetry, these two islands are regarded as proceeding from the same act of creation.

35. *Got countries; nu'u,* 'lands.' Tangaloa, the supreme god, now goes down to examine the lands just created. Cf. "And behold every thing that he had made was very good." *Delighted in them, 'fia-fia,'* intensive; *said, 'fetala'i,'* a chief's word.

Black cloud; 'ao-uli-uli'; this is not a rain-cloud; in the book of Isaiah (c. iv., 5), the day-cloud, which is a manifestation of Jehovah's presence, a cloud of smoke ('*anân v'âshân*'); cf. also 1 Kings, viii., 10.

Trample upon;† 'solī-solī,' reduplication. As man is now about to come on the scene, the supreme god prepares the land for him to dwell in and to cultivate.

People to possess; lit., 'people to people,' tagata e fa'a-tagata.

Atu-sasae; 'atu' means 'group,' and '*sasae*' means 'eastern.' *Atu, Sasae, Fiji, Tonga,* are all personified here and become mythical personages. Here, as elsewhere, *Fiji*, although Melanesian, is included in the realms of Tangaloa, the Eastern God.

38. *Valu'a and Ti'apa; these heroes are celebrated in another Solo.*

I'i and Sava; a myth to account for the name Savai'i. Mr. Powell's notes add:—"Such is the account given me by Taua-nu'u of Manu'a, the legend-keeper

**Fale-'ula*, is the Whare-kura of Maori tradition, which is described as a temple, or house set apart and strictly *tapu*, where the priests taught the ancient histories and traditions of the people; it is sometimes called Whare-maire.—EDITORS.

†Compare with this, the preparations made by Maui, who in most of the myths referring to his "fishing up" of lands is described as trampling on the hills to prepare the earth for the habitation of man. Had he not been overtaken by daylight this would have been accomplished and the earth have presented a level surface.—EDITORS.

(Oct. 21, 1870). He also stated that Fatu and 'Ele'ele were the first pair who came from heaven; they came down at a place called Malae-a-Vavau, near the east end of the village of Taū; they gave birth to a boy and a girl named Ti'apa and Valu'a, who went and peopled Savai'i; for they became the parents of a girl named I'i and a boy Sava; hence the name Savai'i."

This side of the world; 'lenei itu lalolagi.'

39. *As if he were making a prayer; 'peiseai se talo-talo ua fai'; talo-talo is an intensive reduplication of the verb tatalo, 'to pray'; talo-saga is 'a prayer'; talo means 'to make signs to,' 'to beckon'; hence 'to stretch out the hands in prayer.'*

Land of Upolu; Tutuila; 'land' here is lau-'ele'ele, not nu'u.

To rest; malolo, 'to be quiescent,' 'to rest,' not 'to rest from work'; lands, nu'u.

40. *The Peopling Vine; le Fue-tagata; cf. the 'Solo o le Va,' (note 16). Evidently this vine has some connection with the Sun.*

A council ground; that is, a malae.

Was walking; eva-eva, not fe-alu-alu-mai; eva means 'to walk by moonlight,' 'to walk or go about leisurely.' His work was done, and so he could now take a stroll for recreation.

Shred them; 'totosi; 'tosi means to tear in strips,' though not so as to separate; 'to draw out,' 'to form.'

Four persons; a myth to account for the names Upolu tele and Tutuila.

Fue-sā, 'the sacred climbing-vine.' Here called also Fue-tagata—an additional particular, not mentioned in the 'Solo o le Va.'

Flat lands; lau-'ele'ele. Parting command; 'mavaega.'

42. *Show respect to; 'le sopoia; 'lit. 'do not pass over.'*

Do as he likes; pule, 'have authority and full control.'

43. *As is usual, the poet, at the close of his tale, enforces the claim of Manua, to have glory and honour.*

ADDENDUM.

The Mexican story of Creation may be compared with the Polynesian 'tala; I therefore quote a few points of resemblance from a French translation of the "Codex Ramirez," which was written in Spanish soon after the conquest of Mexico: "The first god and the first goddess were self-created, and dwelt in the Third Heavens; of their four sons, one was born red, another was born black.* Two of these sons, by appointment, proceeded to create first fire, then a half-sun, then a man and a woman, then the days, then a great fish* like a cayman, out of which they made the earth. As yet there was no division of time into years; so the creating gods now made a full sun to shine on the earth. Then great giants were made, who lived only on acorns, and could carry trees in their hands. Soon after it rained *so much that the sky fell down upon the earth. The gods then created four men to help them to raise the sky again, and two of the gods changed themselves into trees* for the same end. The Sun now resumed his place in the sky, and, in order that he might have hearts to feed on,* and blood to drink, men were compelled to engage in perpetual war. One year after this one of the four gods took a rod,

* Parallels to these are found in others of our Samoan myths.

and with it struck a rock, from which sprang the 'mountaineers,' who occupied the country before the Mexicans came there."

In the introduction to this 'tala,' I have offered a new derivation of the name Tangaloa. I wish now to add that that derivation has some support from what we know as to the Vedic god Varuna—the same word as the Greek *ouranos*, 'heaven.' The name Varuna is derived from the Sanskrit verb *veri*, 'to cover,' 'to surround;' and, in its compounds, 'to enclose,' 'to overspread;' a participial noun from it means 'a wrapper,' 'a cloak;' with these compare the Polynesian words already cited. In the Veda Varuna is one of the most ancient of deities; he is sprung from 'Space,' and is the god of the heavens; in some of the later hymns he is regarded as controlling the waters, both in heaven and on earth; hence in the later mythology his name is synonymous with 'the waters,' 'the ocean.' For, just as the Vedic Varuna covers and encompasses the terrestrial sphere, so the Homeric mighty river Okeanos surrounds the whole of the terrestrial lands. With all this compare the functions of Tangaloa, who, in some localities in Polynesia, is also lord of the sea.

In the Greek mythology, Ouranos is the grandfather of Zeus, and Varuna is thus more venerable and ancient than Dyaus, the lower sky.





NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE Council has received several interesting papers on various subjects, but owing to want of space are obliged to hold them over until the next number of the Journal. Amongst these papers is one from Dr. Carroll, giving further translations of the Easter Island tablets, which deal with South American history prior to the times of the Incas.

16. In vol. I., p. 56, of the Journal is an interesting article on the "Polynesian Bow." The following note may have some interest in connection with it: In the Island of Ambrim, of the New Hebrides, we find: *fin*, to shoot with a bow; this shows the same root, though with a different vowel change. The Ambrim word for a bow is, *vyu* (pronounced as the English word "view"). The same word also stands for an Englishman, thus: *vantin vyu*="man bow," or "man of the bow." The word for Englishman on Epi, of the New Hebrides, is *Marawo*. There, *Marawo* or *Marauo* is the mythical being who created the dry land, men, plantations, &c., and everything which the people cannot now do. Fragments of pottery are found in Epi; but the art is lost to the people. They ascribe these relics to *Marauo*. When the English ships, with gigantic sails, appeared for the first time, the natives shouted, "*Marauo! Marauo* has come!" Compare the word *Marawe*, recurring frequently in Codrington's "Melanesians."—C. MURRAY.

17. In the paper on Futuna, vol. I., p. 50, in which is given a list of native names of trees, birds, &c., I find little to correspond with the New Hebrides names. *Kumara* or *kumala*, the sweet potato, is tolerably universal; but if it has been introduced into Melanesia at a later date, the name accompanied it, so little information is thereby gained. On Ambrim, as at Futuna, the word is *kumala*. The list quoted above gives *vi* as the name of a tree, with edible fruit, in Futuna; in Ambrim, *vi* is the banana. (Probably the *vi* of Futuna is the *vi* of Tahiti &c., the *Spondias dulces*, or yellow apple.—EDITORS.) On Futuna, New Hebrides, the word for banana is: *ta*=the, *fushi*=banana, *tafushi*. (*Fushi* has some affinity doubtless with the East Polynesian name for banana=*fehi*.—EDITORS.) In Ambrim the owl is *lul*, equivalent to Futuna *lulu*. The Futuna *moa* for a fowl, is *to* and *toa*, the general name in New Hebrides.—C. MURRAY.

18. We understand that Dr. Emerson of Honolulu is engaged on the useful work of compiling an exhaustive account of the Polynesian Canoe, and we ask our members to contribute towards this interesting subject by furnishing any information they are possessed of. The Council will be happy to receive and forward to Dr. Emerson anything our members may send, by way of description, sketches, etc.—EDITORS.

The subject of the canoes of the Polynesians is of great interest, and I deem it of importance to have the facts collected and put into shape now while the witnesses are still living. I have been surprised and shocked to find how little attention has been given to the careful description of the canoe of Polynesia, in all its varieties, by travellers and writers. Much attention has deservedly been paid to the language, customs, and mythology of the different peoples and groups, to the study and comparison of genealogies (*mookuauhau*) and traditions (*moololo*). I would not have any less attention paid to these matters; but while continuing to press these lines of inquiry, it seems to me it would be the part of wisdom for us not to neglect the rich field of investigation that lies open before us in the canoe. For some years I have been accumulating material and investigating the *waa* of the Hawaiians, and I have now reached a point where my studies begin to branch out and touch the different groups of Polynesia, as well as Malaysia and Melanesia. I find that in my attempts to make a thorough study of the Hawaiian *waa*, I am brought face to face with the systems of worship, religious beliefs, *tabus*, genealogies, traditions, mythologies, history, arts and customs of Hawaii and Polynesia generally. There is a constant demand for clear and precise information on all these points, and there is, in turn, a corresponding amount of light reflected on them all. The making of a canoe, from the first act of selecting a tree in the wilderness to its final consecrating and launching when fully rigged, was in Hawaii, at all times, and at every step, under the watchful eye of the *kahuna*, whose duty it was to see that no pains or expense were spared, no ceremony omitted, to propitiate the favour of the gods who had the power, if so disposed, to bring good luck to the *waa* and all who might sail in it. The purpose of this letter is twofold, first to gain information for my own enlightenment, and second to stimulate a widespread study of the canoes or other sea-going craft of the Polynesian peoples, as well as those of their neighbors. It should be borne in mind that the various migrations, or *hekes*, as you have well termed them,* of the ancient Polynesians, and their progenitors, from whatever source derived, must have been accomplished in canoes or other craft, and that the *waa*, the *pahi*, etc., of historic and of modern times, as well as of to-day, however modified we may find them under the operation of modern arts and appliances, are the lineal descendants of the sea-going craft in which the early ancestors of these same people made their voyages generations ago. They are therefore unimpeachable witnesses, and a comparative study of their testimony cannot fail to shed light on the problems of Polynesian migrations and relationships. For my own immediate information, I beg that the members of the Society will do me the favour, if possible, to furnish me with, or put me in the way of obtaining, a description of the genuine Maori canoe (*waka*), unmodified by the arts of civilization. I would particularly request information on the points indicated in the following questions: (1.) As to name or names—What was the generic Maori name for canoe? Had they any other generic substantive name for canoe than *waka*? In the key to the Maori words in Mr. Edward Tregear's "Comparative Maori Dictionary," I find, in addition to *waka*, such names as *amatiatia*, *hunu-hunu*, *tiwai* and *tawai*, *pinaku*, *pītau*, *koki*, *konia*, *korea*, *tete*, and *kopapa* given as equivalents of the word canoe. But on looking up the meaning of these words, they seem to be used mostly as adjectives, to indicate special kinds of *waka*. Am I right in concluding that all or most of these words are used principally as adjectives, and that the generic name for canoe was and is *waka*†? Is there an archaic name for canoe? (2.) Was the *waka* a dug-out canoe, or built up of many pieces; or sometimes one and sometimes the other? (3.) What would be the

*Reports Australasian Association for the advancement of Science, 1891—page 280 *et seq.*

† *Waka* is the generic name in New Zealand for all canoes.—EDITORS.

figure representing a cross-section of the Maori canoe amidships? (4.) As to the outrigger—Was the float of the outrigger ever connected to the body of the canoe (as is the case with the Hawaiian *waa*) by curved sticks? or was it connected by means of straight sticks, as, I believe, is the case with most of the South Pacific canoes? (5.) As to the cord with which the parts of the outrigger were bound together—(a.) Of what material was it? (b.) Was it a braided or twisted cord? (6.) As to ornamentation of the canoes—Was there any special kind of ornamentation used at the bows and at the stern? If so, by what names were they designated? (7a.) What was the shape of the ancient sail? (b.) Of what material was it made? (c.) How was it constructed? (8a.) Of what shape was the paddle? (b.) Did it have any peculiar protuberance on one side of the tip of its blade? (c.) If so, by what name was it called? (d.) What is supposed to have been its purpose? I do not propose these questions as covering the subject of the Maori canoe, but merely as touching points which for special reasons are of unusual interest to me.—N. B. EMERSON.



JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

CONTAINING

THE TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

No. 3.—OCTOBER, 1892.—Vol. I.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

A meeting of the Council was held at Wellington July 16th, 1892.

Letters were read from the Hon. the Premier, Melbourne; Basil Thompson, Fiji; F. Arthur Jackson, Fiji; Messrs. Angus & Robertson, Sydney; and the Rev. S. Whitmee, Samoa.

The following new members were elected, viz.—Alex. Thompson, Bond Street, Dunedin; A. T. Bate, Native Department, Wellington; Hone Mohi Tawhai, Hokianga; D. W. Nathan, Wellington; R. B. Roy, New Plymouth; John Ross, R.M., Levuka, Fiji; W. M. Cole, Railway Department, Auckland.

The following works were presented to the Library:—*Transactions Royal Geographical Society of the Pacific*, Vol. II., No. 1; *The Annual Report British New Guinea* (from Premier, Melbourne).

The following papers were received:—*Melanesian Notes*, Rev. C. Murray, M.A.; *Origin of the words Tangata Maori*, A. S. Atkinson; *Notes on the Meeting Australasian Association Advancement of Science*, R. W. Laing, M.A.; *The Maori occupation of the Chatham Islands*, No. 2, A. Shand.

A meeting of the Council was held at Wellington on 13th August, 1892.

Letters were read from—(1) Sir Walter Buller, recommending appointment of Major Kepa te Rangihwinui as Corresponding Member; (2) Secretary General Post Office, stating that the Hon. the Postmaster-General had granted the right for correspondence and publications of the Society to pass through the post free; (3) F. Arthur Jackson, Fiji, as to additional members; (4) E. Best, *re* exchange with Royal Asiatic Society, Singapore.

The following new members were elected:—(1) Elliott Barton, Solicitor, Hawera; (2) T. G. Poutawera, Interpreter, Native Department, Wellington; (3) Henry A. Gordon, F.G.S., Mines Department, Wellington; (4) A. C. Arthur, Gisborne, Hawke's Bay; (5) P. Parfitt, Manager Bank of N.Z., Wellington; (6) W. K. Chambers, Te Repongaire, Gisborne.

Papers received:—(1) *Tradition of the Origin of the Fijians*, Basil Thompson; (2) *Lament for Tupoki*, D. F. G. Barclay; (3) *Four East Coast Maori Traditions*, Timi Wata Rimini.

Books received:—(1) *Na Mata*, Vol. for 1891, from His Excellency Sir J. B. Thurston; (2) Vols. XXIII. and XXIV. *Transactions N.Z. Institute*, from S. Percy Smith; (3) *Twenty-five Years New Zealand and Chatham Islands*, from E. Best.

A meeting of the Council was held at Wellington September 17th, 1892.

Letters were read from—(1) Royal Society, London; (2) British Museum; (3) Royal Library, Berlin; (4) Royal Geographical Society, Edinburgh; (5) Smithsonian Institution, Washington, United States; (6) A. E. Petherick (accepting position as Society's Agent, London); (7) Asiatic Society of Bengal; (8) Editor *American Antiquarian*; (9) Royal Colonial Institute; (10) Professor Horatio Hale.

Books received :—(1) Eight numbers of *Journal Royal Colonial Institute*; (2) Vol. LXI., Part 1, No. 1, *Transactions Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*; (3) *Transactions Royal Geographical Society, London*; (4) Vol. XIV., No. 4, *American Antiquarian*.

Papers received :—*Easter Island Inscriptions*, by Dr. Carroll, M.A., M.D.; (2) *Pre-historic Civilisation in the Philppines*, by E. Best; (3) *The Polynesian Canoe* (notes), by Dr. Emerson.

The following new members were elected :—(1) Chas. Richardson, Eltham, Taranaki; (2) S. Fairhall, Hawera, Taranaki; (3) R. Booth, Waimanu, Otaki; (4) Henry Edwards, Otorohanga, Auckland; (5) Dr. N. B. Emerson, Honolulu; (6) William Wildman, Auckland.

Total number of members 146 at this date.





PRE-HISTORIC CIVILISATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

THE TAGALO-BISAYA TRIBES.—II.

BY ELSDON BEST.

THE various tribes of the Philippines were frequently at war with each other, as seems to be the invariable rule where a race is broken up into many separate divisions. The weapons used in former times were the bow and arrow, the lance, long curved knives, and in the southern isles the blow pipe (*sarbacan*), for propelling poisoned darts. The arrows and lances were pointed with iron and bone, or were simply hardened with fire. Their defensive armour consisted of carved wooden shields (*carasa*), inlaid with tortoise-shell and mother-of-pearl, which covered them from head to foot, and also cuirasses formed of bamboo. It is not clear whether they manufactured artillery, but they certainly used cannon of iron and bronze before the advent of the Spanish, at which time the Mindanao tribes held strongly fortified positions, defended with cannon. These fortifications consisted of earthworks and stockades, sometimes surrounded by morasses. Such were the defences of the town of the Chief Rahamora when Legaspi attacked it. This town consisted of four thousand houses, and, having destroyed it, the victorious Spanish built on its site, in 1571, the city of Manila. The poison used for the *sarbacan* darts was either derived from certain trees, or, it is said, from the saliva of a green lizard (*chacon*). The natives are said by De Morga to have used this poison in order to kill the Spanish, for whom they had conceived a most bitter hatred.

The Manobo and Zambales were the most savage tribes. The Manobo surprised their enemies while asleep, slaughtered the men, and enslaved the women and children. The priest opened the breast of the first victim with the sacred knife, took out the heart, and ate it. This tribe also sacrificed slaves to the god of war, to whom the colour red was sacred. They were also head-hunters, and hung these

trophies to the roofs of their houses. The Zambales, a fierce and savage tribe, were also head-hunters, as their name signifies, and were in the habit of extracting and eating the brains of slain enemies. Among the Ifugao the lasso is said to have been used as a weapon.

In regard to marriage customs, there was one peculiar form worthy of observation. When a man wished to marry he went to live with his prospective father-in-law, thus becoming a member of the household, and as such he worked at whatever duties were imposed upon him. This lasted sometimes for several years. If the family became dissatisfied with him he was dismissed, but if all went well he paid over to the parents what was known as "the price of the mother's milk"—that is, a compensation for the rearing of his wife. During the probationary period the young man assumed the name of *bagontao*, and the girl that of *dalaga*. They were much given to the practice of divination during the period of the wedding festivities, which lasted for several days. Although polygamy did not exist in a legal sense, yet concubinage was common. The first woman married, however, was the only legitimate wife (*inasaba*). To the inferior wives were assigned the various domestic labours, the milking of the buffalos, and the rearing of ducks, swans, geese, and pigeons. The women, in paying visits, or in walking abroad, were attended by a following of maids and slaves. In various tribes the "Assuan," an evil deity, was supposed to exercise an evil influence over women in labour, and at such a time the husband mounted the house-roof, or stationed himself before the door, and, with lance or dagger in hand, cut and slashed vigorously at the air in order to drive away the dreaded spirit. Among these people also obtained that strange and world-wide custom known among anthropologists as the "couvade," the origin of which it is so difficult to conjecture. In China and Africa, in Egypt and South America, in Malabar and Corsica, among the Basques, Caribs, Bouronese, and many other races, this singular custom of simulated maternity seems to have originated independently.

The language of the Philippines was divided into many different dialects, of which the Tagalo, an abundant and copious tongue, was the most perfect specimen. These, together with the languages of various outlying groups, can be traced to the same common origin by unequivocal marks of affinity, both in word formation and grammatical construction. In spite of various linguistic changes it has been noted by Le Gobien that the language of the Carolines bears a strong resemblance to the Tagalo, and the same may be said of the ancient Chamorro tongue. The Battak speech of Sumatra is said to be closely allied to the Tagalo.* Prichard states that the Malagasi resembles Tagalo more than it does any other Malayan tongue. The Tagalo-Bisaya languages are said by several writers to be the most highly

* Cust. "Languages of the East Indies."

developed of this family, and are in a transition state between the agglutinative and inflective stages. Humboldt considered the Tagalo to be the parent language of the Malay type, but this was denied by Crawfurd. In the Javanese, one hundred and ten words per thousand are Sanscrit, in Malay fifty, in the Bugi seventeen, in Tagalo one and a half, and in Malagasi there are none. It might be inferred from this that the Tagalo-Bisaya migrations from the south-west took place prior to or about the sixth century of our era, about which time the Hindu religion was introduced into the East Indies, bringing with it many Sanscrit terms. The native languages hold their own in the Philippines. Pickering, in his "Races of Man," states that the Tagalo is still the chief language of Luzon, being in general use in all the interior towns.

In respect to religion, the more advanced of the tribes appear to have arrived at that stage of intellectual progress when Nature worship begins to give place to a dim idea of a Supreme Being—a Maker of all things. This protecting genius, to whom they offered sacrifices, was called *Buthalang Meicapal*. These people had a vague conception of a future state in which the good were rewarded, and the wicked punished. Among the Bisaya, *Ologan* was the term for Heaven in their ancient religion, and their Hell was *Solad*. The souls of their dead were said to pass to the mountain of Medias in the Oton district. Tigbalan was the name of a forest demon among the northern tribes, who was treated with great respect. In passing beneath a tree a native would invariably say, *Tavit' po*—that is, "By your leave, my lord." They practised fire-worship and fetishism, and paid homage to the Sun, Moon, rainbow, to animals, birds, and even to trees and rocks of peculiar appearance. The worship of birds appears to have been confined to two species, the *bathala*, a small blue bird, and the *maylupa*, a species of crow or kite. The trees, rocks and headlands which were close to contrary currents or places dangerous to navigation, were objects of veneration and dread, and the deities of these places were propitiated by offerings of food, or were supposed to be quelled by a flight of arrows being discharged against them. Influenced by terror, they venerated the crocodile, calling it *mono*, or grandfather, and it was sometimes tamed and cherished by the priests. These huge saurians were extremely dangerous, and many natives lost their lives by them, for which reason they constructed enclosures for bathing purposes. The Manobo revered the lightning, and believed thunder to be its voice. The Bisaya held that all who perished in battle, or were killed by crocodiles became *dinata*. The *dinata* or *anito* were guardian spirits, and among some tribes were represented by idols of gold, wood, ivory, or stone. There were *anito* of the cultivations, of the rains, of the sea, cocoanut trees, also of newly-born children, and of children during the period of lactation.

Again, there were family *anito*, a species of house-gods, who protected the family, and who were principally deified ancestors, having, it is said, ascended to heaven on the rainbow (*balangao*). Images representing these were kept in the houses, or in the vacant space beneath them, and slaves were sometimes sacrificed in their honour. It has been denied by some writers that the Philippine natives had any idols or images, or any places set apart for religious ceremonies, but the fact is proved by several of the old Spanish records, and also by the account of Cavendish, the adventurous English navigator, who visited the group in 1588, and who states: "These people wholly worship the Devil, who appears unto them in divers horrible forms, and they worship him by making figures of these forms, which they keep in caverns and special houses, offering to them perfumes and food, and calling them *anito* or *licha*.* The MSS. which we quote says: "These people lacked capacious temples, neither had they sacred days set apart for religious practices, but they had at the entrances to their towns, and even close to their houses, small chapels or rooms consecrated to the *anito*, and to the offering of sacrifices. In these places were deposited offerings of food to sustain the souls of the dead in their journey of three days which divided death from the re-incarnation which ensued. Before the figures also were placed small braziers burning perfumes, and plates of sago and fruits."

The priests of these tribes were known as *catalona* in the north, and as *babailan* among the Bisaya. They were the sorcerers or "medicine men," and rude beyond measure was their art of curing, consisting generally of the imaginary extraction of pebbles, leaves, or pieces of cane from the affected part. The priests possessed great authority among the people. In their invocations to the *anito* they sometimes deceived the spectators by a peculiar sound produced by burning the kernels of the cashew (*casuy*); and at all times, says the *padre*, they were assisted by the devil. The secret of these frauds was transmitted by inheritance, or was sold to the highest bidder, and after being consecrated the priests did no other work than net-making or weaving cloth.

As to their sacrifices, the object of them in many cases was to gain a knowledge of the future. Among other modes, they practised divination by an examination of the victim's entrails, and also by the stars, both of them widely spread customs. In the case of prolonged illness a new house was built, and the patient removed to it. The priest being summoned, he sacrificed according to the wealth of the offerers, sometimes a tortoise, and sometimes as many as three slaves. The house was filled with small tables, on which were placed refreshments, and which corresponded with the number of guests. The

* *Licha*=A statue or image, in Tagal dictionary, by Fray Domingo de los Santos. Manila, 1835.

priest performed a sacred dance, purified and sacrificed the victim, and with the warm blood sprinkled the most distinguished of the guests, distributing to the remainder small copper bells. After repeating an incantation the entrails were examined after the manner of the Roman augurs, by the priests, who were often seized with convulsions, made grotesque contortions, foamed at the mouth, and finally announced the sentence of the death or recovery of the patient. If the omen was of health, a revel was held, and the valour of the patient's family and ancestors celebrated with songs. If the omen was of death, they diverted the mind of the patient by dancing, drinking, singing his praises, and persuading him that the gods removed him from this world in order to elevate him to the dignity of *anito*. At the close of the proceedings the priest received presents of gold and food from the guests. Sacrifices which were offered before undertaking a war or assault were conducted in a similar manner. Others, which were arranged by the chiefs, and dedicated to the principle god, were celebrated with feasting and dancing to the sound of their primitive music. The best dancer was invited by the priest to give the fatal thrust, and the flesh of sacrificed hogs was distributed among the guests, who looked upon it as sacred food.

The Philippine natives had a firm belief in omens and superstitions of many kinds. Thus, in the houses of the fishermen, new nets were not spoken of until they had been tested and found reliable, and among hunters the merits of dogs recently acquired were not discussed until they had been successful in catching game. A belief in the invulnerability (*anten*) of certain persons was a common superstition. A pregnant woman was not allowed to cut her hair for fear the infant should be bald. Much importance was attached to dreams, of which they were anxious to divine the meaning. In order to navigate their seas with safety it was not permitted to carry in the vessel either animals or land birds, nor even to name them; and in like manner, when travelling by land, they did not mention things which pertained to the sea. Before embarking on a voyage they caused the boat to oscillate, and observed carefully to which side it inclined the most. If to the right, it was accepted as a good omen, but if to the left, it was an evil omen. They also tied together many cords, and one end being made fast, would rub the other between the hands, and, by observing the manner in which the cords became entangled, they inferred the good or evil fortune which fate had in store for them.

The geogony of primitive and semi-civilised races always contains an element of interest, and that of the Philippine natives was certainly a singular belief. The creators of the earth were the sky, the kite, and the sea. After the bird had flown many times across the ocean, and found nothing to alight upon, the sky, in quarreling with the sea, caused the bird to throw down huge rocks with the aim of subduing it. These rocks became islands, and the earth generally.

The tradition of the origin of man is as follows: "Two logs of bamboo, impelled by the waves, were cast on shore at the feet of the bird, which, becoming enraged, began to pick them to pieces, when there appeared from the first log a man, and from the second a woman, thus proving the monogeny of the human species." The man succeeded in gaining the affections of the woman, and from them are descended the whole human race. The dispersion of the race throughout the world was caused by a family quarrel. The many children of the primal couple lived indolently in the house of their parents, which displeased the father, who belaboured them with a cudgel, and expelled them from the house. The young people were much terrified, and fled from his presence. Some concealed themselves in the house, and from them are descended the *maguino*, or chiefs. Others went out openly from the house, and these were the fathers of the *tinagua* (*timāwa*) or freemen, and yet others took refuge in the cooking-sheds and beneath the house. From these last sprang the slaves. Finally, those who were banished, and never returned, became the ancestors of distant people, and remote tribes. It is worthy of note that, on the arrival of the Spanish, they were supposed by the natives to be the descendants of the last-mentioned migration. The various animals are also said by tradition to have been derived from other logs of bamboo; and the fact that the monkey came from one close to that which contained man, explains satisfactorily the resemblance between them.

Respecting their idea of a future life, the belief was, that preceding the state of happiness after death, there was a series of incarnations or purifications of the soul, which successive transmigrations took place in a cluster of one hundred and fifty islands, on which were sheltered the souls of the dead. In those beautiful isles the departed spirits enjoyed perpetual youth. In this paradise there were trees always loaded with ripe fruit, and fastened to the earth by chains of gold, which served as roots. Of gold also were the ornaments, the bells, ear-rings (*panica*), the cloths (*isine*), and many other things. The shores of the sea were formed of pure rice, and there was also a sea of milk, and another of *linogao*, which is rice boiled with milk or fat. Yet another sea was of blood, and on the bank of this grew plants, whose flowers had petals of flesh ready for eating.

These people held primitive notions concerning original sin, and also cherished a belief in the punishments and rewards of a future life. They accounted for the coming of death into the world in the following manner:—Far back in the very night of time the god Laon possessed a most beautiful fish, which was his delight, also a tree which bore the most luscious fruit. The offenders killed the fish and plucked the fruit. For this offence Laon caused men to die in all ages.

Such then was the state of civilisation among the Tagalo-Bisaya

tribes at the time when the Malay Mahomedans, and the Spanish *conquistadores* attempted, from opposite points, to introduce their religions into the archipelago. The Moros of the Sulu Islands were beginning to overrun the Philippines on the arrival of the Spanish, and would eventually have Mahomedanised the entire group. The Philippine natives at this time were in a singularly interesting stage of intellectual progress. They had lived through the crude fetishism of savagedom, and were emerging from the second stage of religious feeling, during which, they had evolved out of the contemplation of Nature, one of those wonderful mythologies which are met with among so many nations. They were beginning to renounce the old Nature worship, and to have a more or less confused idea of a superior religion, of which the central figure was a Supreme Maker.

It has been truly said that nothing requires such calm and impartial judgment as the inquiry into the moral and religious condition of uncivilised races. The co-evolution of religion and civilisation is an extremely interesting subject to the student of anthropology, when he notes the gradual refinement of the national religion as the culture of the race improves, and the degradation of that religion when a race retrogrades in civilisation. It is one of the many grand problems, based on the retributive laws of Nature, which confront the enquirer into that great and wonderful mystery—the development of the human race. Well it is for him who can learn from the savage Aieta or the semi-civilised Tagalo, a lesson in the evolution of the human intellect; but, unfortunately, so many who have golden opportunities of studying the intellect and works of uncultured man are careless of these matters, and look with contempt upon the noblest of studies. They cannot interest themselves in the struggling intellect of primitive man; they no longer understand the craving of youth for advancement; they disdain to look upon the dawn of intellectual day.

These are the most interesting points procured from the afore-mentioned works on the Philippine Islands—a land which we call new—but in which the events of the Tagalo-Bisaya migrations were but as of yesterday. Here, as elsewhere, the rude savage retreats before a superior race, but the receptive Tagalo attaches himself to the civilisation of his conquerors. He had already advanced far on the difficult highway that leads from barbarism to a higher culture, and was thus enabled to receive the teachings of his Iberian invaders; but he who would seek the indigenous Aieta must look for him in the distant recesses of the primæval forest, or in the dark and gloomy cañons of the great ranges.



THE OCCUPATION OF THE CHATHAM ISLANDS BY THE MAORIS IN 1835.

BY A. SHAND, ESQ., OF CHATHAM ISLAND.

PART III.—THE *JEAN BART* INCIDENT.

WHILE the Maoris—Ngatitama and Kekerewai—were waiting at Waitangi for Captain Ray, which, so far as can be ascertained, was in March or April, 1839,* a sail was seen coming into the Bay. A number of the people went off and boarded the vessel, which proved to be the *Jean Bart*, a French whaler. Going into the bay she made a board too close in, and stirred up the bottom, but getting out two boats they swung her round by her jibboom, and stood out again. By this time a large canoe of Matioro's called Whakanekekaha had arrived from Whangaroa, bringing across a number of the Ngati-mutunga natives, amongst whom were Te Mate-kaipuke, Tatua, Nga-Pane, Toenga te Poki, Te Wharekura, Te Nohinohi, and many more. Arrived on board, they commenced disputing among themselves—*whakangutungutu*—regarding the vessel. The Whangaroa people wished her to go to their place, while Ngatuna of Waitangi, desired her to stay and trade with his people at Waitangi.† Evidently their excited gestures—so common to the Maori—alarmed the captain, who invited about twenty of them to go below into the cabin, where he gave them wine to drink, and distributed biscuits to those on deck, and sent to talk to them an English sailor called "Tommy," who was previously known to Arapata Hakuturi, the only living survivor of that day. Tommy came down in the vessel as pilot, to show the captain the sperm-whale ground. He had been a third or fourth mate on board the brig *Bee*, which was whaling in Cloudy Bay in about 1832, when

* The month is proved by the fact of the *karaka* berries being red at the time.

† It is said that Ngatuna, the Waitangi chief (called in the European accounts E Tuna), offered a letter to the captain to read, which he refused to do. It was the custom for captains of whalers visiting the islands to leave with the chiefs commendatory letters for the benefit of the next comer.

Arapata was a "hand." He told Arapata that the captain was angry, but Arapata and the others could not understand for what cause. Tommy, together with the steward, had been deputed to treat the Maoris to wine in the cabin, and he (Arapata) took several glasses on deck, passing them up, and returning them below. On one of his trips he noticed the captain standing on top of the boats handing down to the crew, who were close around him, the lances, harpoons, and blubber-spades used in whaling. Arapata could not understand what they were about. Others, telling the same story afterwards, remarked that they did not like the look of the captain and his men, or the getting down of the irons; while others said, "O, they are only preparing the irons for their work at sea." No sooner, however, were the weapons in the hands of the crew than they made a rush at the Maoris on deck. A thrust was made at Tikaokao, who parried the weapon with his bare hands, and, catching it at the same time in the middle, wrenched it from his opponent, and thrust him through the body, at the same time shouting with all the energy of an old warrior, as he was, "*Ngatiawa e! kei au te mataika!*"—"O Ngatiawa, mine is the first slain!" This was the only revenge the Maoris got at this part of the attack. The next instant he fell dead on the deck, run through by another sailor. At the same time Te Patu-Hapai was run through from side to side with a lance. He rushed down into the cabin shouting, "I am killed." The Maoris below then raised a shout "It is Ngaitahu! They are in the vessel." This they said in remembrance of the treachery—in which some of them assisted—on board Captain Stewart's vessel the *Elizabeth*, when Te Maiharanui was taken at Banks' Peninsula and brutally killed by Te Rauparaha's tribe. Meanwhile the crew were killing all on deck. Three only escaped, who rushed below to the cabin for safety. The French sailors threw the dead bodies overboard; while others jumped over, and were drowned. All this time there was no one at the wheel, and the *Jean Bart* was drifting broadside on before the wind. On the Maoris first coming on board all the canoes were sent ashore except one small one belonging to Ngatitama, which was towing alongside. While the massacre was going on on deck, one Pirika Te Aue, brother of Wiremu Kingi Meremere, slipped over the side, and got into the canoe. He was too terrified to look up, but lay in the bottom slowly cutting the plaited flax-rope painter, which done, the canoe drifted free of the vessel. As soon as he got to a safe distance, he with the same shell, cut adrift the lashing of a side-rail of the canoe, which he used as a paddle, and with it managed to land at Te Wharau, about six miles away from Waitangi. Here he met his relative Te Kati's wife, who sent her husband with him to Waitangi with all speed to join his relatives there, for, owing to the grim custom which prevailed of killing those who were saved from wrecks in canoes as payment for the lost people, Pirika's life

would not have been safe. Arriving at Waitangi, he at length gave way to his pent-up feelings by shouting the cry for a *pa* invaded by a *taua*, and then recited the losses so far as he knew them. Before leaving the vessel, he said it was a dreadful sight to see the men thrown overboard, crimsoning the sea with their blood, whilst others who jumped overboard only came up again to drown afterwards. One poor fellow asked to be taken on board Pirika's canoe, but was not allowed, Pirika assigning as a reason that he would be killed by Te Kati as soon as they reached the shore.

After the French had killed or driven overboard all on deck, they turned their attention to the cabin, taking off the skylights and getting out the glass deck-lights, so as to have room to drive their lances into the cabins and bunks within reach. (At the commencement of the attack on deck, "Tommy" vaulted out of the cabin by the skylight, both he and the steward getting away out of the cabin. The Maoris said, had he stayed he would have been safe, but he was evidently frightened.) The French killed only three in the cabin, and wounded others. Arapata narrowly escaped being run through in a room where he was, among "unbent" irons, &c., the weapon aimed at him just missed his head, but inflicted a severe wound on his lip. Unable to kill any more or dislodge those in the cabin the French, through another English sailor from the Bay of Islands, who spoke some Maori, proposed to cease fighting and made a truce. At this time a young fellow named Toko and a woman named Riha,* the only ones on deck, and who had been hidden in the chains over the bow, were allowed to join their comrades in the cabin. It was then proposed by the French that the Maoris should go ashore. On asking how they were to do so, they were told they could make use of the blubber-room board as a raft. This they refused to do, saying that the French only wanted to drown them, or attack and kill them as they came on deck.

Meanwhile a little incident occurred which, as in many similar circumstances, changed the aspect of affairs. Te Patu-Hapai (the uplifted weapon) said: "Get revenge for yourselves, as for me I die." As he died Meremere looks at the upward position of his thumb, and from it drew an omen of success.

Meremere then asked one Tame Kopae, who had been a voyage or two to Sydney and elsewhere, "Where do they keep the guns on board these vessels?" Pointing to the lazaret, he and Arapata replied "there." They accordingly searched and found four double-barrelled guns loaded, one of which Matioro took and broke. After this they found a single-barrelled one, and then a case with single-barrelled flint muskets, also flints, powder, and ammunition. On first finding the guns they had no powder, but Matioro had some

* It is also said that the woman Riha was killed. The second woman on board was Pahi, Toenga's wife; she was saved.

cartridges, brought with him from Whangaroa, with which they loaded one of the guns. On first finding the guns, one Hakitara startled them all and woke them from their torpor by shouting: "We have found the guns"—*Ira! e ta ma! kua kitea nga pu!* At this time it was growing dusk, and they noticed the mate going round, apparently to the wheel, on the outside of the bulwarks, and as he dropped down on to the deck Hakitara shot him through the chest. From the way in which he went round outside the vessel it is extremely likely that the French dreaded that the Maoris had found the firearms. As the man dropped, they shouted: "*Mate rawa! mate rawa!*"—"Killed outright! killed outright!" the usual exclamation on the death of an enemy. Upon this the French threw on the skylights and put chains on top to keep them down, but the Maoris forced them up again from below. They also put men on watch at the companion way, who kept up a continual thrusting to and fro all night with their lances to menace the Maoris below.

Shortly after this a woman named Pahi, Toenga's wife, shouted: "They are cutting through into the cabin." Others said, "Let them cut, and don't disturb them, so that we may see them." Meremere had at this time another gun loaded, and was waiting for the person cutting through the bulkhead. It was the cooper who was cutting, whilst another man held a lantern. Meremere shot the cooper as soon as he got a full view of his body; the other man dropped the lantern and with a shout rushed on deck. The hatches were then battened down by the French from above. The Maoris got the lantern, then loaded their guns and eagerly waited for the day, having determined to sally on deck and attack the French so soon as morning broke.

Early in the morning they heard a great noise on deck, and the lance thrusting suddenly ceased. Looking out of the stern windows they saw the French going off in three boats—according to Arapata—or four by another account—but as Arapata was on board his story ought to be correct.* Although a large barque of the size of the *Jean Bart* ought to have lowered four boats, and had hands for that number, two boats were left on board on the skids. As they passed close by the stern of the vessel the Maoris rushed on deck and fired a volley at the boats, without apparently taking any effect. The boats then went off in a westerly direction, apparently to New Zealand.† By this time the ship was out of sight of land. The Maoris talked of chasing the boats, but did not do so, finding they had all they could

* Although Arapata has become old and forgetful, in telling the story he denies that a woman named Riha was killed, although well known to others to have been so.

† Nothing was ever heard of these boats; the probability is that they perished in the stormy seas between Chatham Island and New Zealand.

do to steer and handle the ship. Luckily for them, four of those on board had been to sea and knew a little about managing the sails and steering. Two of them had been across to Sydney and Hobartown in whalers, while others had been about Cloudy Bay and elsewhere on shore whalers. Accordingly, on getting up on deck after the French had deserted the vessel, they first ascertained that the wind was north—the same as when they got on board at Waitangi—and then commenced to beat back to the island, after some time making the Pyramid Islet, or Te Rekoko. The wind having veered to E.S.E. on the third day enabled them to beat up, and bring the *Jean Bart* into Petre Bay. After trying ineffectually to get into either Whangaroa or Waitangi, the wind then being east, they made Pohautā, or Ocean Bay, and anchored there, but left the sails unfurled, so that she drifted ashore on to the rocks and became a wreck. The ship was looted and subsequently burnt by the Ngatimutunga, as some sort of satisfaction for the treatment they had experienced and the sufferings they had undergone.

The above is the account given by Arapata, and, as he was on board and helping to work the vessel, it may be presumed to be true. The other story is to the effect that, on anchoring in Pohautā Bay, and feeling themselves safe, Ngatuna said to the Ngatimutunga people that he wished them to land there, as he intended to take the vessel to Waitangi. Whereupon—their safety being now assured—all the old jealousy and dissension between the two tribes arose again. Angry at the proposal, Tauru Matio, one of the Whangaroa or Ngatimutunga people, knocked out the shackle-pin of the cable and let the vessel drift ashore. Arapata says he neither heard any dissension nor saw the pin knocked out. On the other hand, the story appears too circumstantial to be untrue, and it is possible that as Matio had been to sea, he might have done so unobserved, and thus give his tribe the subsequent looting of the vessel.

After coming to anchor the Ngatimutunga took one boat, the Ngatitama another. The former broke theirs in lowering it. The second boat was that recovered by the *Héroïne* at Waitangi. Some of the party returned by land to Waitangi, and on their arrival, there was a terrible scene of grief, the residents beating and thrashing those who had returned, while others proposed to kill them.

Not long after their return Captain Ray called at Waitangi, and heard the particulars of the story. He afterwards proceeded to the Bay of Islands, where, apparently, he gave information of the occurrence, and, judging by subsequent events, accused the Maoris of being the aggressors in the sad affair. He might easily have satisfied himself that the reverse was the truth had he inquired. It is uncertain what time elapsed, but it evidently was not long before Captain Ray returned again to the Island, and with him the *Héroïne*,

Captain Cécille, French war-vessel, which remained far out at the entrance of Petre Bay, whilst Captain Ray sent a boat ashore with a message to Ngatuna, who knew him, telling him and others, that he had tobacco to give them.

Seeing that there were two vessels, one of which remained in the offing, and after their late experiences the Maoris were afraid. One James Coffee, an old sealer and whaler, and resident on the Island, warned Ngatuna and others not to go on board, and told them he would go first, and make sure that all was safe. Arapata says he was offered tobacco, and asked to go on board Ray's vessel, but refused, as he suspected something was wrong. Ngatuna, however, with his wife did so, and was immediately seized by a party of French marines or sailors. His wife, on seeing her husband seized, jumped overboard, and was shot dead in the water, her body drifting ashore afterwards at Te Hiti, and was there buried by her relatives. A gun was then fired to denote that this treachery was successful, and the *Héroïne* sailed up to Waitangi, which place she bombarded, firing grape and either twenty or twenty-five pound shot at the place, some of which are to be seen there now. Subsequently the French captain landed a party, and marched up to and surrounded the *pa*, but the Maoris had already moved off about a mile and a quarter away on to the hill called Tongariro, situated in a south-easterly direction from the *pa*, where they quietly watched the proceedings. Some of them went to the north-east corner of the same ridge—to Te Ihu—where they also watched what was going on from a commanding point, but numbers of the more timid spirits went much further away, to return only to their seaside habitations a long time after the war-vessel left. After burning everything that could be burnt, such as houses, &c., the *Héroïne* proceeded to Ouirā, at the north end of Kekerione beach, firing at it from the sea, and ultimately burning the village. They then went to Whangaroa and Ocean Bay, and burnt all the houses, cultivations, fences, &c., there, the inhabitants fleeing away to the hills. It does not appear at what time the French captain took on board the other natives who followed their chief into captivity. One of these was Tukuwaru, Tikaokao's younger brother, another Ropata Nga Kerenu, and one whose name is forgotten. Ropata still lives. Both he and Tukuwaru returned to New Zealand, but never again visited the Island. Ngatuna, it is said committed suicide in France, grieving for the loss of his wife and people, and his separation from them. Some say that this occurred on his way to take his trial in Court, when he silently choked himself, unperceived by his warders, by putting a rope or cord round his neck thence to his foot, and pressed it with his other foot—a not unfrequent mode of committing suicide among the Maoris.*

* It does not however appear quite clear how the Maoris heard of this part of the occurrence, unless it was through those who returned to New Zealand.

Thus ended this episode in the history of the Maori occupation of the Chatham Islands. The attack on them was thoroughly unprovoked and the result of misapprehension and timidity on the part of the captain of the *Jean Bart* and his crew. How the French came to think that the natives meant to attack them no one now can tell. It is quite certain the Maoris were in the possession of no arms whatever beyond the few cartridges in Matoro's pocket. In all probability the cause of alarm was the large number assembled on board, and, as Arapata says, their disputes among themselves as to which tribe should supply the potatoes required by the ship. Having sent all their canoes on shore, had they tried to take the vessel by surprise and been unsuccessful they would have had no chance of escape whatever.* The treacherous behaviour of the American captain was most unjustifiable in handing over an unsuspecting man who trusted in him as a friend. The action of Captain Cécille was most foolish, to say the least of it, for no steps whatever were taken by him to ascertain the facts of the case before he proceeded to bombard and destroy all the places he could find within reach. By what means he arrived at the conclusion that "E Mare's" people were the offenders, and not "E Tuna's," as quoted in Sir James Ross's notice of the affair, is a marvel, unless the information was given by Coffee, who, having married into the Ngatitama tribe, was likely to accuse the opponents of his wife's relations. Captain Cécille appears to have taken Ngatuna away under the feeling that, right or wrong, some one must suffer for the catastrophe—a somewhat strange mode of administering justice for a civilised race. It was said by one of the natives that Captain Cécille at one time proposed to hang Coffee, as a participator in the affair, but altered his mind after conference with Captain Ray. Everyone appears to have come to the conclusion that the Maoris were the culprits, without making any inquiry into the truth.

In Brett's "History of New Zealand" it is stated that a certain Captain Robertson, who had served with Lord Cochrane in Chili, called at Chatham Island and obtained "hands" there, but, failing to return them to their homes as promised, the Maoris in revenge massacred the crew of the *Jean Bart*. From enquiries made I find there was a Captain Robertson who was engaged in whaling in 1831 or 1832 about Cloudy Bay and elsewhere, and that he commanded the Brig *Bee*, of which Arapata was one of the crew (known at that time under the name of Jack Guard). Captain Robertson subsequently commanded the barque *Caroline*, which visited the Chatham Islands, and did ship some "hands" from there—no doubt those referred to—and did not return them, but this never troubled the other Maoris as far as I know. The rest of the story is apparently a fabrication.

* It may, however, be urged as a reason for the dread the French had of the Maoris that they doubtless had been informed of the capture of the *Rodney*, and of her captain having been compelled by force to bring them to the island.

The number of Maoris killed on board the *Jean Bart* was in all probability about forty.* Arapata says fifty. At this distance of time it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain the truth, there being so very few now living who can remember the names, of which I have thirty-two on record. It is therefore almost perfectly certain that not less than thirty-five, but more probably forty, were killed by the crew of the *Jean Bart*. The names are known of thirteen of the Ngatitama, all men of rank, among them—*Rangatira kau*—and it was this loss of their best men and leaders, coupled with Ngatuna's being taken to France with his companions, which weakened them, and induced the Ngatimutunga to attack and drive them out of Waitangi. An additional cause was jealousy on the part of Te Kaea, a younger brother of Ngatuna's, who was afraid that Meremere, owing to his having taken the wife of one Tapiri (deceased) to be his wife, would rise to supreme influence at Waitangi. Te Kaea told Wi Piti Tatua, a distant connection of his, "to take Waitangi as his land." Weakened, therefore, as above stated, the Ngatimutunga men, ever full of envy, seized the opportunity to attack and drive them out, together with the Kekerewai people living among them.

[To be continued.]

CAPTAIN CÉCILLE'S ACCOUNT OF THE *JEAN BART* AFFAIR.

As Sir James Ross's "Antarctic Voyage" is rare, and not easily accessible, it has been deemed advisable to extract from it the following account of the taking of the *Jean Bart*, as Sir James learnt it when at the Bay of Islands, N.Z.—EDITORS.

He says :—"On the 24th October, 1841, the French corvette *Héroïne* anchored off Korararika, and I had the pleasure of a visit from Captain L'Eveque. . . . He very kindly supplied me with a more accurate chart of the Chatham Islands than I was supplied with. This valuable survey we owe to the diligence of his predecessor in command of the *Héroïne*, Captain Cécille, while employed in the protection of the French whalers. . . . Captain Cécille had been induced to visit the islands by hearing from the master of an American whaler, who had recently been there, that a French vessel, the *Jean Bart*, had been captured and destroyed by the natives and the crew inhumanly murdered. His chief object therefore in going there was, in his own words, 'to take revenge on the islanders for the massacre of his countrymen,' and also to afford relief to any of the crew who might be saved. On his arrival at the great western bay of the island he found the accounts he had received were too true; the remains of the burnt ship were still to be seen and one of her boats was recovered, but he could not hear anything of the crew, nor whether any of them had escaped in the boats of the ship. Although his arrangements appear to have been made with great judgment, yet he did not succeed in securing the principal actors in this dreadful tragedy. He, how-

* Captain Cécille's story to Sir James Ross was twenty-eight men and women killed, twenty wounded.

ever, landed a large force, and totally destroyed their *pas* or forts, and burnt as many of their boats as he could find, thus depriving them of the power of attacking other vessels. He succeeded also in decoying one of their principal chiefs named E Tuna (Ngatuna) and two of his people on board whom he kept as prisoners, and from whom he learnt the following information respecting the circumstances which led to the unfortunate collision with the New Zealanders :—

“The *Jean Bart* arrived at the Chatham Islands early in May, 1839, and before she gained the anchorage several canoes belonging to two tribes of New Zealanders who had possessed themselves of the island, went alongside. It was about 2 p.m. when the ship anchored in the small bay of Waitangi, upon the shores of which the tribe of E Tuna were established. The captain, frightened at seeing so many savages on board, desired the chiefs to send them ashore. E Tuna gave orders for his people to leave, and many obeyed; others remained to bargain. All the people of E Mare (Pomare), the chief of the other tribe, also remained on board, so that there were still 70 or 75 savages left in the ship. The captain, not thinking himself safe, prepared immediately to quit the bay, and refused to sign some certificate that E Tuna presented to him.

“E Tuna and many others were in the cabin of the *Jean Bart* when suddenly they heard a great tumult on deck. They immediately attempted to make their way up the ladder, but a number of New Zealanders fell from the deck amongst them, and they then returned to the cabin to conceal themselves, when the skylight was immediately removed; and E Tuna said they tried to kill them with lances and spades, which they thrust into all parts of the cabin. Many of those in the cabin were wounded, and some were killed. They looked about for some means to defend themselves, and found a double-barrelled gun and some pistols in the captain's cabin, but these being percussion, and having no caps, were useless to them. At length they found some muskets and cartridges, with which they killed two of the seamen. The skylight was instantly put on again, and fastened down by the people on deck, and soon afterwards all was silent. E Tuna supposes the captain and crew were alarmed when they found the New Zealanders in possession of fire arms, and had barricaded all the hatchways to gain time to get out their boats and make their escape. He stated that twenty-eight of their men, and one woman were killed, and twenty wounded. He believed that the attack was provoked by the people of E Mare's *pa*, who wished to get possession of the articles, which the seamen endeavoured to prevent. He said, also, that had it not been for the firearms the Frenchmen would have put them all to death. The fight lasted from two hours after sunset till two in the morning.

“Captain Cécille had learned at the Bay of Islands that the *pas* of the Chatham Island were placed beyond the reach of the guns of a vessel at anchor. He made his dispositions accordingly, and landed a large force the day after his arrival. The party met with no resistance—all the *pas* were abandoned. They saw a few of the New Zealanders, who fled to the woods, where it was neither prudent nor possible to follow them. The fortifications were entirely destroyed by fire, as well as some large canoes. They also found several articles belonging to the French whaler, and one of the boats, which was launched and taken on board the *Héroïne*. By 4 o'clock in the afternoon there remained of all their extensive establishments, of a quarter of a league in extent, and which was pallisaded throughout, nothing but a heap of ashes.

“In the meantime E Tuna had been a prisoner on board two days in the greatest uneasiness. He enquired frequently when they would put him to death, but, willing* to prolong his mental torture Captain Cécille told him that he and his two companions should remain prisoners in his vessel, and be taken to France, where the King would decide their lot.

“They soon became reconciled, and Captain Cécille, having satisfied himself that E Mare and his people were the aggressors, he contrived to open communications with the people of E Tuna’s tribe, and succeeded so far in assuring them of their safety from any further punishment that several of them came on board to take leave of their chief.

“After having landed in another part of the island and destroyed some more *pas* and canoes belonging to E Mare’s tribe, he visited Pitt Island, under the impression that, as only one of the boats of the *Jean Bart* was to be found, it was very probable that those which were missing had been taken by the survivors of the crew, in which case they might have sought a place of refuge upon the contiguous island.

“E Tuna seemed to be of the same opinion, but as all their searches after them proved unavailing, it is most likely that those who escaped the assault of the New Zealanders perished in their attempt to reach New South Wales, or were murdered by the savages of Pitt Island.”





MAORI MIGRATIONS TO NEW ZEALAND.

BY JUDGE W. E. GUDGEON.

SOMETIME after the arrival of the Arawa canoe at Maketu, in the Bay of Plenty, and before the many illustrious chiefs of that migration had spread themselves over the country, there arrived a small party of men and women from that ancient home of the Maori race, which is known to them even at the present day under the general name of Hawaiki.

From what particular isle of the Pacific these wanderers came is not known; all that tradition has taught us is, that they came with the well-defined object of seeking out the celebrated chief and priest Ngatoro-i-rangi. How many there were in the party cannot now be ascertained; but we do know the names of three persons, two of very high rank, and presumably the third was also a chief, for most certainly the aristocratic Maori would never preserve a genealogy from a man of inferior rank. They were as follows: Tane Whakaraka, Kuiwai, and Haungaroa, from whom the following people descended:—

m 1 Tane Whakaraka
m Kapua
m Uenuku
m Te Ata

f 1 Kuiwai
f Haungaroa
 Haunui
 Hāuaroa

m 5 Tangaroa-a-te-ao
m Turanga
m Te Rangitiora
m Te Manuhungarewa

5 Hau-a-kuha
 Kahukuranui
 Kahukura Kotare
 Hinekahukura
 Te Iringarangi
 Te Pupu
 Te Wawau
 Te Hoata

f Mina = Kaiure
m 10 Te Atua-o-te-Po
m Tihake
m Korokaihau
m Te Umu
m Whakamarurangi
m Te Awe-kotuku
 Marama

m Muka
 10 Tahetā
 Tuparakora
 Te Koangi
 Kura
 No
 Tawhiao
 Te Whiu-atua

Rauhoto
 10 Urututu
 Ngahinera
 Te Rangiora
 Ngarongo
 Pahii
 Te Urutoa
 16 Eru Pohipi

Te Ruaroa
 10 Toa-kohuru
 Tamahina
 Tapaka
 Tamakehu
 Terekau
 Whakaneke
 Te Oro

17 Batima Te Awe-kotuku 17 Hakihaia

17 Topine te Mamaku

Kuiwai and Haungaroa were respectively wife and daughter of the great chief Manaia, and sister and niece of Ngatoro-i-rangi, and the above genealogies will show that they remained in the country and

have many descendants living at the present day. The errand on which they had come was to inform Ngatoro-i-rangi that his brother-in-law Manaia, had not only solemnly cursed him, but was also in the habit of visiting his *tuahu* (altar) daily, and there using every priestly art to destroy the said Ngatoro-i-rangi. Now, whether in the capacity of chief or priest, this man was of such rank that it was quite impossible that he could permit himself to be cursed with impunity. He therefore called together the people of the Arawa migration—then known as the Te Hekengarangi or Ngaoho—and urged them to build a canoe to replace the Arawa, which had already been burned by Raumati of the Ngamarama, one of the ancient tribes.

In obedience to this order, a sort of canoe was constructed, which was called Totara-i-karia, and on this frail bark the *ope* (war-party) crossed the ocean, to that island or group of islands known as Hawaiki. They arrived at their destination after dark; and as Ngatoro-i-rangi had been warned by the three messengers before referred to that his enemies went daily to the *tuahu*,—to see the result of their incantations, and also to implore the gods to deliver him over to them,—he conceived the idea that the easiest method of overcoming them, would be by leading his men into the sacred place, and there, at the foot of the altars, where the ovens were already prepared for them, and the firewood stacked, pretend death.

With this design, shortly before dawn Ngatoro-i-rangi—having first by the *mana* of his *Karakia* (invocation) destroyed the power of the hostile gods—led his men into the sacred marae, and there directed them to strike their noses violently, smear themselves with the blood, and throw themselves down round about the ovens, feigning death. This well conceived plan was thoroughly carried out, with the result that in the early morning the *tohunga* (or priest) whose duty it was to perform the ceremonies at the *tuahu*, found the war-party to all appearance stark and stiff. Instantly they raised the cry, “Ngatoro-i-rangi and his men are dead, killed by the power of our gods;” and when the welcome news was heard, the men of the *pa*, forgetting their weapons, swarmed out eager to see the wonderful sight. But as they gazed, suddenly those dead men sprang to their feet weapons in hand, and soon only a few fugitives remained of those who had gone forth to rejoice over the dead enemy. This battle is known to the Arawa as Ihumotomotokia (bruised noses); and it is said that the tribe defeated thereat was the Tini-o-Manahua.

Tradition says that Ngatoro-i-rangi defeated another war-party which had been raised by his arch enemy Manaia; and then, satisfied that he had avenged the insults offered to him, returned to Maketu, in New Zealand, with all his people. He and his wife Kearoa, took up their abode at the Matarehua Pa, on the island of Motiti, Bay of Plenty; but his companions went to the mainland, and explored the

country as far as Cape Colville on the one hand, and Whauganui, in Cook's Strait, on the other.

Meanwhile Manaia was not idle; he burned to avenge the disgrace of the two last defeats, and not only collected a numerous army of friends and relatives, but also followed closely in the wake of Ngatoro-i-rangi. The first intimation this chief had of his enemies' presence was the appearance of a fleet of canoes off the promontory on which Matarehua was built. Ngatoro-i-rangi was now in great danger, for he was alone on the island; he was, however, equal to the occasion, for standing on the point of land nearest to the flotilla, he not only welcomed his enemies, but advised them to anchor where they then were, as it was too late in the afternoon to admit of a decisive battle being fought before nightfall. He finished his speech by offering battle at daybreak on the following morning.

This advice was accepted, and the tribes of Hawaiki anchored in a semicircle round the ocean face of the *pa*. Then Ngatoro-i-rangi, having succeeded in obtaining this delay, went to his *tuahu*, and there exerted all his priestcraft in order to destroy the flotilla. With this view he invoked the aid of all those gods who were subservient to him, and called the winds of the night and powers of darkness to his assistance. By these means he raised a violent storm, and in the morning nothing was left of the fleet of canoes: only dead men were to be seen, whose bodies, half buried in the sand, strewed the beach. The name given to this so-called battle is Maikukutea, which for present purposes may be interpreted "bleached finger-nails," and it was given because the hands and toes of the dead men were seen just above the sand,

Fortified by this tradition and other information handed down to them by their ancestors, the Arawa tribe, who of all the Maori people are the best informed, have founded the following theory: That they alone of all the canoes that have reached the shores of New Zealand, came here with the definite purpose of colonising the country; and that the canoes claimed by other tribes formed part of the fleet of Manaia, which, as I have said, was almost entirely shattered or dispersed by the *Karakias* of Ngatoro-i-rangi; and therefore it follows, as a natural sequence, that although these canoes did come to New Zealand, yet their crews were merely a remnant of those who escaped the disaster of Maikukutea, and, as such, undeserving of the credit which properly attaches to a migration of chiefs.

It is possible that there may be something in this contention, so far as it relates to the arrival of canoes subsequent to the date on which the Arawa arrived on these shores; but clearly the theory is untenable if, as it seems, they would thereby deny the existence of tribes in possession of the land when the Arawa came, or the visits of numerous canoes previous to or about the date of that event.

In my paper on the Maori ancestor, Paoa,* I have shown that he must have visited New Zealand long before the Arawa left the coral islands of the Pacific, and in this paper I shall give further evidence of the same nature.

The purpose with which I write is to consider what justification if any, the Arawa tribes have for the theory I have set forth; and in order to do this subject justice, it will be necessary to state what is known of the inhabitants of this island previous to the arrival of the Arawa. My knowledge of the subject is unfortunately limited, and therefore I can only assist to that extent; but I hope this paper may provoke discussion, and in that manner draw forth the stores of information which many men undoubtedly possess, but which are to me unavailable at the present moment.

It can hardly be doubted that there were many tribes of Polynesian descent in occupation of this country when the crew of the Arawa entered the river at Maketu, Bay of Plenty. It is my intention, on a future occasion, to give some account of these ancient people, but will now only mention some of the tribes that are known to have existed at that period. The great earthworks of the Owara Pa, which cover many acres of the high ground above the Waihi River, may yet be seen. This *pa* is at no great distance from Maketu, and was occupied by the ancient tribe of Ngariki when the Arawa migration landed. These Ngariki are probably an offshoot of the tribe of the same name that occupied the island of Mangaia; and their descendants may still be found here, though there is now no tribe of that name.

The following is said to be a genealogy of Ngariki:—

Motatau			
Te Autaha			(TE WHANAU-APA-NUI
Te Auripo	(TE ARAWA TRIBE†)		TRIBE)
Hine-haowhenua	1 Tamatekapua	1 Ira	
Hine-kaiwa	Tuhoro	Iwitererewa	
Muturangi	Ihenga	Iranui	
Tanepawhero	= Tuariki	Taua	
5 Wahiawa		Apanui-Waipapa	
Tuirirangi	=	Rongomai-te-Huatahi	
	Aapanui-Ringamotu		
	Kekerangi		
	Te Kahauturu		
	10 Rerewa		
	Mahutahuta		
	Manutohikura		
	Manukatochau		
	Te Arataua		
	15 Te Hapui		
	Te Rewanga		
	17 Kereama Kaipara.		

* Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. I., p. 76.

† The Arawa and Whanau-apa-nui connection is shown for purposes of comparison, Motatau is the Ngariki ancestor.

Among other well-known tribes now extinct, but who are regarded by the Maoris as Autocthones, are the following : Ngati-Kahupunga-punga, Nga-Marama, Te Kawerau, Marangaranga, Ngati-Hotu, Maruiwi, Te Raupongaoheohe, Te Tururumauku, Te Aruhetawiri, Te Aorauru, Waitaha-Turauta, Whatumamoa, and many others ; some of whom are still tribes such as Ngati-Mahanga, Ngati-Uepohatu, Nga-Potiki, &c.

There has been, and there is still, much misconception on the subject of Maori migrations to New Zealand. The general impression undoubtedly is, that the crew of each canoe left their homes in the Pacific either to save their lives when attacked by other and stronger tribes, or, that being *en route* to some well-known and friendly island, had by stress of weather been driven out of their reckoning, and so drifted aimlessly at the mercy of the waves, until by mere chance the forlorn wanderers reached this haven of rest, so happily named Aotearoa (New Zealand).

It may not be denied that war has played a part in the ancient colonisation of the islands, for tradition informs us :—

That the Tainui canoe left Hawaiki in consequence of a quarrel between Hoturoa and the people of that land, over two cultivations named respectively Tawaruarangi and Tawaruararo :

That the Arawa canoe left in consequence of a quarrel between the priest Uenuku and Tama te Kapua—the former having eaten the latters' dog, Potakatawhiti :

That the Aotea canoe left because the same Uenuku had killed and eaten Potikiroroa, the son of Turi, who in return slew Hawepotiki, son of Uenuku, and then fled to avoid the consequences.

In like manner Manaia came in the Tokomaru canoe, he having slain a party of his workmen, who had insulted his wife.

But tradition does not in any one instance lead us to infer that chance had anything whatever to do with the many migrations, or rather visits to these shores. There is on the contrary, in each tradition, evidence to show that the early Polynesian sea rovers knew perfectly well, not only where they were going, but also how to get there. This evidence of design is apparent even in our earliest records ; whether it be the visit of Kahu to the Chatham Islands some 30 generations ago ; or the resolution of Nukutawhiti to follow Tuputupuwhenua to New Zealand, in his canoe Mamari. So also we learn that when Mihiti conceived the idea of settling in the Chatham Islands, he sent his friends to two noted *tohungas*—Irea and Tahiri—who instructed them as to their route.*

* Further evidence of this knowledge is to be found in Kupe's directions to Turi, when he was leaving Hawaiki for New Zealand, in which the direction to steer, and how to find the Patea River are given. Although said to have been given by Kupe personally, it is probably meant that these directions had been handed down from him, for Kupe died many generations before the time of Turi.—EDITORS.

A careful study of Maori tradition, induces the belief that voyages for the mere sake of discovery and adventure were of common occurrence among the Polynesian tribes, for we can in no other way account for the long list of canoes which tradition tells us visited these shores—canoes, the crews of which have left no descendants here to preserve the memory of their names or fame.

In my paper on Paoa, already referred to, I have shown that the record of the existence of that man and his numerous friends, who are said to have come hither in Horouta canoe, depends entirely on the fact that he left one daughter—Hineakua—behind him, and perhaps one son,—Pairangi,—whose descendants have preserved the memory of his deeds; and but for this no one would have known that such a canoe as Horouta had ever reached New Zealand. And yet it is said that there were 70 men on that canoe.

There are, however, very many other canoes of which we know little beyond the name, such as:—

1. Tu-te-pewawharangi; said by some to have been the canoe in which Paikea, ancestor of Ngatiporou, came hither.

2. Nukutere; said to have been one of the canoes of the Ngatiporou and Uriwera tribes; and that Ngainui, Ngaipeha, and Whironui came therein.

3. Tereanini. Tradition tells us that this was one of the first canoes to visit these shores; and that Pouheni was chief. (Not to be confounded with Pouheni, child of Paikea.)

4. Pangatoru. It is said that this canoe did not land, but that Rakeiwanangaora was the chief of it.

5. Akiki-a-te-tau. Nothing is known of this canoe but the name, and a faint tradition that Tamatea Kaiariki was the chief.

6. Haere. The chiefs are said to have been Tungutu-tangata, and Tungutungu-o-te-Rangi.

7. Arai-uru. Nothing known of this canoe, except that it is said Tataitu was chief.

8. Rereanini; landed at Whangara, near Gisborne, the chief man being Rongomaituahū.

9. Motumotuahi. It is said that Puatautahi, an ancestor of Ngarauru and Ngatiruanui, came in this canoe.

10. Tutepuehu. Nothing known beyond the name.

11. Ngaengaemoko. Nothing known beyond the name.

12. Rangimatoro; landed at Ohiwa, Hape being the chief man.

13. Te Aratauhwaiti; said to have been the first canoe that ever came to New Zealand; and that Maku, the ancestor of Toi-Kairakau, came therein, as also Areiawa, Tokomauku, Te Turutūre, Himoki, and Hirakawe. Of the last five persons nothing whatever is known; and in my genealogy of Toi from Mauipotiki, Maku does not appear.

14. Te Ruakaramēa. This canoe landed at Mangonui; the chiefs being Te Uriparaoa and Te Papawi.

15. Waipapa ; landed at Taipa, near Mangonui. The chiefs were Kaiwhetu and Wairere.

16. Te Mamaru ; landed at Rangiaohia, near Mangonui. Chief, Te Pou.

17. Kapuahorahora. Nothing known of it.

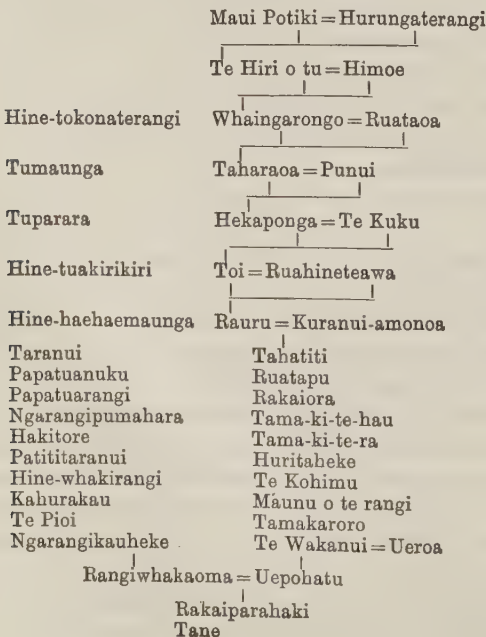
18. Oturereao ; landed at Ohiwa. Taikahu was the chief. It is said that Turongo was the chief of the ancient people of that place when Taikahu came.

19. Kauria. It is asserted that Wharewharenga-te-Rangi, from whom the Ngatihako are descended, came in this canoe.

In addition to the above-mentioned, it will be found, on reference to Mr. Tregear's Comparative Dictionary, that there are sixteen other canoes concerning which little or nothing is known, or of which the crews thereof have no known descendants at the present day. This is a long list, but it is by no means exhausted, for careful enquiry among the Maoris would probably reveal some knowledge, however crude, of the arrival of many such canoes.

There is evidence which would lead us to believe that Maui-Potiki had visited New Zealand, and that descendants of his had occupied a portion of the East Coast, from that date to the present time, for the genealogy of the Ngati-Uepohatu tribe shows an unbroken descent from that ancestor, and, as I think, without one Polynesian name therein.

The following is the genealogy referred to :—



Maihi
 Wairua
 Tahitorangi
 Tamarora
 Ponatahi
 Whareunga
 Hinetira
 Rangiwhakamau
 Rongonui
 Te Hao
 Eru Pahau (65 years old)*

There are also traditions of other visitors, who arrived here at a time so remote that all knowledge of the canoes in which they came has been lost, and, in all such cases, modes of transit altogether supernatural are attributed to them. For instance, we are told that the ancestor of the Hapuoneone people—one Tamarau—flew hither through space from a district called Arorangi; and as I do not know of the existence of any such place in New Zealand, it seems possible that this Arorangi may be the district of that name in Rarotonga, since I am informed by F. J. Moss, Esq., the British Resident, that there is a well of water at that place called Tamarau.

In much the same mysterious manner, many generations before the arrival of the Mata-atua canoe, there came the chief Irakewa to Whakatane, where, it is said, he was eaten by the small fish called Warehou; but how or in what manner he came by his death is not now known. So much respect was, however, paid to his memory that for many generations—indeed, until lately—the Ngatiawa of the Bay of Plenty declined to eat the fish in question. The learned men of that tribe relate that Irakewa returned in spirit to his South Sea home, and there instructed his descendants as to the position of Whakatane, and informed them that it was theirs by right of his discovery; and it is further asserted that when the Mata-atua canoe arrived at Whakatane, Muriwai at once sought out and occupied a cave which had been given to her, and the position of which had been indicated by the spirit of her ancestor Irakewa.

Taneatua, from whom the Ngati-Hamua and Warahoe tribes of		
the Rangitaiki River (see genealogy) are descended, is said to have		
Hape-ki-tumau	Taneatua	been a <i>taniwha</i> , inasmuch as, according
Tamarau	Tanemoko	to the Maoris, he also came to New Zea-
Te Pipi	Tairongo	land without the aid of a canoe, and
Te Koata =	Waniwaho	thereby emulated the wonderful voyage
		of Hoake and Taukata, who not only
Tamamutu		
Wheturoa		

* It will be observed that there are 31 generations from Maui-Potiki to Eru Pahau. By another and quite distinct line from the same person, the Maoris count 33 generations; whilst the Hawaiians,—who also claim Maui-Potiki as an ancestor,—count 34 generations to the present day.—EDITORS.

Te Hoka-a-te-rangi
 Papa-mai-te-rangi
 Te Rangituanui
 Te Rangitauawa
 Te Korehu
 Tokatapu
 Rakatapu
 Pairehe
 Hameme
 Tareha
 Tareha

NOTE.—This is a very short genealogy, for Taneatua was contemporaneous with Rakaiaora of the preceding genealogy.

made the voyage from Hawaiki to Whaka, tane on a lump of pumice, but also taught Toi and his people how to build canoes; and, in company with Tama-kihikurangi, returned to Hawaiki to fetch thence the *kumara*. This tradition will, however, be dealt with in a future paper.

Very much in the same way came Tura, of the Ngati-Tura branch of the Arawa, who was probably also the ancestor of the Ngati-mamoe of the South Island. It is not by any means clear to

the Maoris in what manner this man succeeded in crossing the Pacific, but as the name of the canoe in which he came has not been handed down, the Maoris have readily concluded that he came by the power of his *karakias*, and the aid of a lump of pumice.

Many similar instances, supported by tradition, might be quoted to show that during the period immediately preceding the arrival of the Arawa canoe, and perhaps for one or two generations after that event, the arrival of visitors from the isles of the Pacific was by no means an uncommon occurrence; and whereas the genealogies of the descendants of many men whose canoes are not known have been preserved, we may fairly infer that the majority, if not all of the canoes I have mentioned, did not come with any intention of colonising, and in fact left none behind them, since their descendants are not known at the present day.

The inference that I seek to draw is this—that though we have reason to believe that numbers of canoes visited these shores during the earliest period of Maori history, yet we have no traditions that would warrant the belief that these people came with the intention of remaining, or did remain, except in the case of solitary individuals, who threw in their lot with the Moriori tribes; and who, having perhaps a superior system of religion or polity, rapidly acquired supremacy over the more barbarous or simple tribes with whom they associated; and hence it has come to pass that only the names of these immigrants have been handed down to posterity as the progenitors of the Maori people; whereas it is quite clear that the majority of the tribes are undoubtedly from the original inhabitants.

By far the most interesting of all the migrations is that which arrived in the Arawa. Here we are told of the following chiefs as having come in that canoe:—

Names of the Crew of the Arawa Canoe.

1. Ngatoro-i-rangi	6. Tia	12. Marupunganui
2. Tama-te-kapua	7. Hei	13. Taikehu
3. Kurapoto	8. Oro	14. Kuraroa
4. Rongomai	9. Maaka	15. Taininihi
5. Tahu	10. Whaoa	16. Tutauaroa
	11. Ika	17. Hatupatu

This is a formidable array of chiefs to have come in any one canoe; and yet of 11 of these the descendants may be traced at the present day without difficulty. I am also informed that Hatupatu's descendants are known to the Arawa people; and I am of opinion that Marupunganui did not come in the Arawa, but was of an earlier migration. If this is so, then out of these 16 men of rank, there are but four whose descendants I cannot trace, though it is quite possible that the Arawa people themselves may be able to do so.

There is also some doubt as to whether Taikehu really came with the Arawa migration—which we will hereafter speak of as the Hekearangi—for it is said that Taikehu entered Ohiwa Harbour in his canoe, and there found the chief Tairongo and his people living (the Ngati-raka, of Te Waimana; and Ngati-raumoa, of Ohiwa), whose descendants may be seen at the present day occupying the same lands. Now, as the Arawa canoe did not come south of Maketu, we may safely conclude that Taikehu did not come with the Hekearangi, but perhaps in the Horouta, with Paoa.

The position held by the crew of the Arawa is therefore unique, for we find that almost all of the leading men of that canoe have well-known tribes claiming genuine direct descent from them, viz.:—

Crew of the Arawa Canoe.

Tribes descended from them.

1. Ngatoro-i-rangi	}	..	..	{	Ngati-Kearoa, of Whakamaru.
2. Kearoa f					Ngati-Tuwharetoa, Putauaki.
3. Tia .. ..	..	..	..	..	Tapuika tribe, of Maketu, and Ngati-Ha, of West Taupo.
4. Hei .. ..	..	..	..	..	Waitaha, of Te Puke, and originally of Tauranga.
5. Tama-te-kapua ..	..	..	..	..	Ngati-Rangitibi, Ngati-Whakaue, Tuhourangi, Ngati-Rangiwewehi, Ngati-Uenukukopako, Ngati-Tama of Motuwhanake and Poutama, and Ngati-Huarere, the ancient tribe of Moehau, now extinct.
6. Oro	}	..	..	..	Ngati-Apa, of Rangitaiki, Bay of Plenty.
7. Maaka					
8. Pouheni	}	..	..	..	Ngati-Tahu, of Orakeikorako.
9. Tahu					
10. Kurapoto ..	..	..	..	..	Ngati-Kurapoto, now absorbed into the Ngati-Tuwharetoa, of Taupo.
11. Rongomai ..	..	..	..	..	Ngati-Tuwharetoa, of Taupo.
12. Ika .. ..	..	..	..	..	Descendants in Taupo and Whanganui.

From the foregoing it will be seen that no less than twelve chiefs have known descendants at the present day, not to mention Hatupatu, from whom the late chief Pohipi Tukairangi was known to be descended.

The following are the genealogies of the ancestors I have named, as forming part of the crew of Te Arawa canoe:—

DESCENDANTS OF THE CREW OF TE ARAWA CANOE.

Ngatoro-i-rangi		Tia
*Tangihia		Tapuika
Tangimoana		Makahae
Kahukura		Tukutuku
Tuhatoariki	(Ngati-Kearoa.)	Te Reinga
		Whango
		Tahuri
Tawatea	Te Aopaki	Mokaiurake
Te Aotakamaiwaho	Te Aokawhai	Te Ahoroa
Ngakahotuarua	Urumahai	Kotorepuka
Tikitiki	Haukapuanui	Mataturua
Te Ranganui	Hawerewere	Marukukere
Te Ahinariki	Ruahoro	Kopura
Waiata	Ngataikaraihihi	Kotuku
Tuteroanga	Tio	Hinerangi
Tunukaitawhiti	Rupe	Paruhe te Rangi
Whaia-te-ao	Wharepuna	Kamania
Whare-iti	Hiaki	Tupea
Tionga	Tapuataikura	Makotiti
Mokonuiarangi	Whainga	Tutea
Te Kuru-o-te-marama	Kipihana te tai	21 Paora Paruhe
20. Arama Karaka		

Tapuika tribe.

Hei		Tama te Kapua	
Waitaha		Kahumatamomoe	
Naia		Uenuku-mai-rarotonga	
Te Manutohikura		Tawhaki-moe-tahanga	
Waiokehu		Rangitihī	
Takakopiri	Apumoana	Tuhourangi	
Tuparahake	Wharawhara	Takitakihikuroa	Uenukukopako
Iwikoroke	Whiro te Tipua	Tuteamutu	Whakaue
Punoho	Ruatawhiti	Rangiwewehi	Tutanekai
Kumikumi	Waiata	Tuteapa	Te Whatumairangi
Ruataumanu	Tamakaitawhiti	Te Pipi-o-terangi	Ariariterangi
Kairongoua	Whaia-te-ao	Rangipuaawhe	Te Roro-o-terangi
Makino	Te Whareiti	Takatu	Te Tiwha
Te Ha	Tionga	Te Whatu	Te Maramarama
Tiraroa	Mokonuiarangi	Kaingahuhu	Te Rangi te Pikitia
Te Ha	Te Kuru	Nawaina	Te Whanoa
Tipene	Arama Karaka	Te Kepa	Te Umanui
Hakarai	(At least 85 years old in 1892)	(About 65 years old)	Mataiawhea
19. Hone Hakaraia			Te Meiha
			Pirimi
Waitaha tribe.	Ngati-Rangitihī tribe.	Tuhourangi tribe.	(About 45 years old)
			Ngati-Whakaue tribe.

* Married Murirangawhenua, of the Kawerau tribe.

Maaka	Pouheni	Kurapoto
Apatika	Tahu	Kawhia
Tamaapa	Toroa	Tamanarehua
Te Wiwini	Wairaka	Tupangia = Maruahine
Te Ngahae	Kuitu	|
Rangitaka	Hinewai	Maruahine II.
Tutawhiriao	Ngairihanga	Tuhuiaio
Kara	Whakaroataua	Te Whakao
Houmeanguru	Matarae	Taringa
Tamatuai	Te O	Hinariki
Whakamouhara	Tanganga	Aniwha
Te Ahikaata	Te Koru	Takero
Kiripakeke	Te Roka	Kanapu
Rangihuritini	Tarawera	Tungahuru
Whakaekae	Te Whiwhi	Te Urewera
Te Rahui	_____	Te Whakaunua
Te Kotahi	Ngatitahu tribe.	Hurinui Nikora
Titoko		(About 40 years old.)
Manutute		_____
Rangihiroa		Ngati-Kurapoto tribe.
(About 65 years old.)		

Ngatiapa aud Ngati-
hineuru tribes.

Maruahine is said to
have been a Ngati-Hotu,
one of the original tribes.

Rongomainui	Tia	Tama te Kapua	Ika
Rongomairoa	|	Tuhoro	
Rongomaiapehu	|	Ihenga	
Apehu Matua	Apa Ihenga	Tamaihutoroa	
Mawhakenui	Uira	Tuhi	Karewarewa
Mawhakeroa	Uetupuke	Koara	Pukeko Tawhaowhao
Mawhaketaupo	Rongopopoia	Taumarewa	Tukekeru
Tuwharetoa	Hakuhauui	Te Atua	Waitanui
Rakeihopukia	Hatea	Pataua	Tuparakore
Taringa	Rakautawhiti	Moeiti	Te Koangi
Tutetawha	Ngarohitemoa	Kamira	Kura
Turamakina	Moe	Rongo	No
Tawhioterangi	Kotuku	Te Ika	Tawhiao
Te oinga	Hinewai	Kata-te-ao	Te Whiutahi
Tukino	Rawhiti	Turuki	Hakiaha
Te Heuheu	Whaowhenua	Puharoa	
Te Heuheu Tukino	Ruaparapara	Te Kamo	
Te Heuheu Tukino	Te Rama	Tamamutu	
Tureiti Te Heuheu	Marukowhiti	Hohepa	
_____	Hikamatea	_____	
Ngati-Tuwharetoa tribe	Rangiwhiua	Ngati-Tama tribe.	Tukekeru was contem- porary with Uenuku- Kopako of Ngati- Whakaue.
	Hitiri te Paerata		This genealogy is imperfect.

	Ngati-Ha tribe.		

We will now enquire into the history, and endeavour to trace the descendants of the crews of the other canoes which are alleged to have migrated hither, either in company with or about the same time as the Arawa—viz.:—

- | | | |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|
| 1. Matawhaorua | 4. Tokomaru | 6. Aotea |
| 2. Tainui | 5. Takitumu | 7. Kurahaupo |
| 3. Mata-atua | | |

I have not included in this list the Horouta canoe, inasmuch that I am convinced that this vessel came at least four generations before any one of those above mentioned, and that very few of the crew remained here.

Perhaps, in a less degree, this is the case with Matawhaorua, the canoe of the great navigator Kupe, whose genealogy is here given. It

1. Kupe may fairly be presumed that he was not the only man of rank in that migration; but, so far as I know, he is the only person whose name and genealogy has been preserved out of all those who came in that vessel, and at the present time there is but one tribe who claim him as their ancestor, and that is the Muau-poko, of Horowhenua.*
- Ruawharo
- Maku
- Tupiki
5. Rangatira
- Wharekohu
- Maiao
- Te Purehu
- Te Aweawe
10. Tamarakai
- Te Kohunga
- Tuwharemoa
- Te Aonui
- Hine-waka
15. Whangaia
- Te Kamau
- Tunei-i-waho
- Rangiheke
- Te Koronga
20. Te Hukui
- Hinetorua
- Rangihikaka
- Whitirea
- Mauruhau
25. Kaiwa
- Hunia te Hakeke
27. W. Hunia

The genealogy from Kupe's daughter Hine is four generations less than this.

From the crew of Tainui are descended the once powerful tribes of Waikato—Ngati-Haua, Ngati-Maru, and Ngati-Maniapoto. The crew of the canoe are said to have been as follows:—

NAMES OF THE CREW OF THE TAINUI CANOE.

Rakataura	Tane Whakatia	Marukopiri
Hoturoa	Taranga	Taunga
Whakaotirangi	Hiaora	Waihare
Rotu	Mateora	Huaki-o-terangi
Ao	Ruamuturangi	Whaene
Oho	Marama-a-Kikohuri	Te Peri
Kuo	Hine-puanganui	Tama-te-Marangai
Hotuope	Hotumatapu	Hotuawhio

Of these, Rakataura was *Ariki* and priest, and Te Peri, it is said, was a female *Patu-paiarehe* (fairy), whose place was in the bow of the canoe to act as a *Kapehu*, or directing god, whose duty was not only to direct the course of the canoe, but also to guard against all evils. This supernatural being was, it is said, a sister of one Tainui, who, having been buried at the foot of the tree from which the canoe was made, thereby caused the vessel to be called by his name.† Of all the people above quoted, only two are recognised as having descendants living at the present day, and they are Rakataura, through his sons Hiaora and Houmea; and Hoturoa, through, as I believe, his son Motai, but, as some contend, his great-grandson.

The fate of only one of the remaining members of this migration is recorded by tradition, and that is Taunga-ki-te-Marangai, who is said to have been killed by a *taniwha* in the Bay of Plenty.

* The Mahurehure *hapu* of Ngapuhi equally claim Kupe as their first ancestor in this country, and count forty generations from him to the present day. Some names appear, however, to have been interpolated on the Mahurehure line in a very extraordinary manner, which is as yet unexplained. The names interpolated are those of the ancestors of some of the Rarotonga people given on page 25, Vol. I., of this Journal. Kupe is often accredited with the discovery of these Islands.—EDITORS.

† Tradition says that it was found impossible to fell the tree Tainui until Tia—who afterwards formed one of the Arawa migration—assisted with his enchanted axe Hauhau te Rangi.

There are also certain ancestors from whom the Ngati-maniapoto claim descent, who cannot clearly be traced to any canoe; they are Tanetinorau and Tahuu. The genealogies are as follows:—

Tanetinorau	1. Rakataura	1. Hoturoa
Kapu	Hiaora	Motai
Te Kahu	Ru	Uetapu
Ngaiwi	Kemo	Rakamaomao
Turawau	5. Punganangana	5. Kakati
Tuteuru	Ruawaeko	Tuhihanga
Tukurangi	Waihare	Poutama
Paetahuna	Ruanui	Mango
Ikapaengatahi	Rutepupuke	Kaihamu
Te Kahu	10. Kapa-ki-te-rangi	10. Tuteurutira
Whakairi	Kapa-ki-te-marama	Tupahau
Hinewai	Mimiti	
Ani Hokopu	Te Awgheta	
Tanetinorau	Taiehiehi	
	15. Te Paemate	
Ngati-Ruapuha	Rangi-te-wewehi	
Hapu of	Kuianganga	
Ngati-maniapoto.	Hinegarakau	
	Te Huihui	
	20. Hine-wai	
	Mahora	
	Te Kaharoa	
	23. Tawhana	

Ngatihia.

Ngati-Rarua tribe.

NOTE. —The ancestors, Hotuope and Hotumatapu, have been left out of the Hoturoa genealogy in accordance with the Ngati-Toa traditions, as they insist that these Hotus were brothers.

The next canoe on our list is Mata-atua, and here we have less tradition to guide us than is the case with any other migration. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the only persons known to have come in this canoe are:—

NAMES OF THE CREW OF MATA-ATUA CANOE.

Toroa	} chiefs	Te Mohiro	Taona
Ruaauru		Weka	Muriwai f
Manu		Mu	Wairaka f
Whakapoi		Wairakewa f	

The Ngati-awa claim that Muriwai was a sister of Toroa, and Wairaka a daughter of that chief; but the Ngati-porou say that Paikea married Manawatini, and that their daughter was Muriwai. Both the Ngati-awa and Ngati-pukeko, of the Bay of Plenty, claim descent from Toroa; but so also do the Ngati-tahu, of the Arawa migration, who say that Poheni came in that canoe (see genealogy ante). The Hamua and Ngamaihi tribes—who live in the immediate vicinity of Ngati-awa—are descended respectively from Taneatua and Māhu, but no one appears to know the whence of these two men.

Ngati-awa assert that Awanui-a-rangi, the ancestor from whom they take their name, was a descendant of Wairaka; but I do not think that any of the surrounding tribes would support them in this contention. It seems to me that Awanui-a-rangi was in reality from the ancient people of the land, and that from him came the Tini-o-awa people, who migrated to Heretaunga, and many other ancient tribes,

In the case of Mata-atua, as with that of all the canoes except the Arawa, we find that practically all the tribes from this canoe are from one man, viz., Toroa. It is true that his sisters had children, whose descendants are known, but they did not found tribes. The descendants of the other persons who formed the crew of Mata-atua are not known, and this may probably be accounted for in two ways : either Toroa and his family were the only persons who remained permanently here, or there never was any such canoe.

Mataora	= Muriwhakaroto
Rakautu	
Hine-tewhiringa	
Karapinepine	= Rakei
Matairohia	Rangitaura
Atakapo	Rahiri-Haupapa
Rakei II.	= Rahiri-Pakarara
	Kapuatahi
	Mangatu
	Moetahuna
	Moerewarewa
	Rauru
	Tawapahaka
	Hine-tuahonga
	Rakei III
	Pourewa
	Waruheapoa
	Waimauku
	Te Puna
	Whanga
	Te Manu
	Te Ngongo
	Wiari

Of the Tokomaru canoe and its crew, I know but little, and only mention it in order to provoke discussion, and induce the members of this Society to supply the desired information.

Only one tribe claims descent from those who came in Tokomaru, and that is the Atiawa of Waitara, and I have heard but four persons mentioned as having come therein, viz : Rakeiora, Manaia, Tu-urenu, and Te Rangitata. Of the descendants of these men I have no genealogy. The one I submit is of the Ngati-Rakei of Mokau, who may be regarded as a connecting link between Te Atiawa and Ngati-Maniapoto, and it seems possible that the Mataora above written may be the Mateora of the Tainui canoe, and that the Rahiris may be from the Tokomaru migration.

Concerning the Takitumu canoe, there is much mystery. It is said that

this canoe because of its remarkable sailing powers, was, on its second voyage named Horouta. On the first voyage, the canoe was so sacred that food could not be carried therein, and therefore only men of the highest rank and their gods were placed on board. As a natural result, these men were in a very short time mad with hunger, and cast lots to decide who should die that others might live. The lot fell upon Ruawharo, who then claimed the right to call upon the fishes of the sea to come to his aid. This chance was allowed him, and he then and there uttered so powerful a *karakia*—invoking the aid of Tangaroa—that thousands of cray fish came to the surface, where they were seized and devoured by the famished crew. This supply lasted only a few days, and once more Ruawharo was in danger, but again he invoked the assistance of the sea god, who sent numbers of the

Paua (*Haliotis*), and this timely supply of food lasted until they sighted land.

According to the Ngati-porou tribe, those who came in Takitumu were :—

NAMES OF THE CREW OF TAKITUMU CANOE.

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. Te Ariki Whakaroao (<i>ariki</i> and priest) | 6. Te Whakawiringa |
| 2. Ngarangiteremauri | 7. Te Kauru o te Rangi |
| 3. Tohi-te-Ururangi | 8. Manutawhiorangi |
| 4. Te Irirangi | 9. Te Aonoanoa |
| 5. Ruawharo | |

It is possible that there were others in the canoe, but of the nine above mentioned not one has known descendants at the present day. Ruawharo can indeed be traced, but that man was the son of Rongoueroa, who came in Kurahaupo.

The most singular thing in connection with Takitumu is that both Ngati-Kahungunu and Ngati-porou claim this as their canoe, and yet I think the former tribe do not, as a rule, consider that their ancestor Tamatea Pokaiwhenua, or his father Rongokako, came in this canoe ; indeed, it is well known that the former came from Mangonui,* where his name is still famous for having carried out many important works. Among others it is said that he tried to drain lake Tangonge. This work failed because the creek into which the cutting was made was not much below the ordinary level of the lake, but the ditch can yet be seen, as also large kauri trees therein, which have been cut through with stone axes. When Tamatea came south, his son Ranginui settled at Tauranga, but most of his descendants went either to Poverty Bay or the Wairoa, and migrated thence at various times under Tamakopiri, Taraia I., Te Aomatarahi, Whiti-kaupeka, and others, driving off or destroying the ancient tribes of Ngati-hotu, Tini-o-awa, and Tini-o-Ruatamore.

The Ngati-porou are descended from Paoa through Hineakua, also from Paikea, Ruatapu, Ira, and Whironui ; and although they claim the Takitumu as their canoe they do not pretend for a moment that any of these came in that craft. Paikea, they say, succeeded in reaching land by aid of a sea monster, after the vengeance of Ruatapu had destroyed his companions and canoe. Whironui came, I believe, in his canoe Nukutere ; but I have not heard any Maori explain how Ira, or the children of Ruatapu, managed to reach these islands. It is said that the Ngati-whatua are descended from some of those who

* With every deference to Judge Gudgeon's extensive knowledge of his subject, we submit that the Tamatea "who came from Mangonui" is not identical with Tamatea-pokai-whenua. The former was a descendant of the original people of New Zealand, and his descendants, called Ngai-tamatea, still live near Mangonui.—EDITORS.

came in this canoe; and this may be so, but if they are not found there, then it is doubtful if there are any representatives of that canoe among the Maoris of the present day.

GENEALOGY OF THE NGATI-POROU TRIBE.

Whironui			Uenuku	
Rongomatawhio				
Hakiri-o-te-rangi				
Ngapouhaere	Paikea	Ruatapu	Rongoueroa	Ira
Rongomaituahoe	Pouheni	Hau		Iwitererewa
Pokai	Niwaniwa	= Nanaia		Iranui
Rakairoa				
Rakaitemania		Porourangi		Taua
Hautawhao		Hau		Te Ngoi
Tamatea-autahiroa		Rakaipo		Te Ruaarai
Aungarua		Rakaiwetenga		Te Harapa
Tutakahiao		Tapu-o-te-Haurangi		Ruakarakia
Te Umuparae		Tawaki-urunga		Te Hekenga
Te Rapuaki		Hine-kehu		Tukarakia
Mohututahanga		Tamataonui		Tapuikakahu
Angahue		Kahukuramoko		Rangikahokaina
Ngakuao		Tamataonui		Ruamutunga
Rangimoehoro		Te Aomoengariki		Potiki
Maharata		Te Kiwa-o-Rehua		Uepare
Peta te Haenga		Te Urukakingarangi		Rangikaputua
Paora te Haenga		Te Urumahora		Koparehuia
		Hine-pau		Tamauta
		Hopuao		Te Akau
		Te Kaitaia		Rotopepeke
		Te Kekerangi		Te Eruiauta
		Tikitiki-o-rangi		Te Aungira
		*Wikiriwhi Matehe		
		Mere		Ira branch of
		Hoani Matauru		Ngati-porou.
		Heni-te-ao		

Wahine-iti branch of
Ngati-porou.

The remarks I have made with reference to the Tokomaru migration will apply with equal force to that of the Aotea. Of this canoe I know but little, but I believe I am right in saying that the Taranaki, Ngati-ruanui, and Whanganui tribes claim descent from and recognise only one ancestor in their migration, and that is the illustrious Turi, who, having settled his sons Turangaimua, Tutawa, Te Ihi and Tane-ro-roa in the neighbourhood of Patea, returned to Hawaiki and died there. There are two other ancestors mentioned in connection with the Ngarauru and Ngati-hau tribes, namely, Kewa and Atuaranganuku. The former I believe to have been either a son or a brother of Turi, but the latter appears to have come from some other stock, as tradition says that he landed at Motukawa, near Nukumarua, on the coast of

* Still living, at least 90 years of age. Head chief of the main line of Ngati-porou.

Cook's Strait, about the same time that Turi landed at Aotea. The Turi* genealogy given is that of Topia Turoa, one of the most important of Maori chiefs and a man of the highest rank.

The Kurahaupo is the seventh and last of the canoes of this series, and of this migration only two men are now known, viz., Ruatea and Rongoueroa, from whom are descended respectively the Ngati-Apa, of Rangitikei, and the Rangitane of the same district.

In addition to these, there are the Ngatikuia, of Pelorous Sound, in the South Island, who are known to history as the people who killed and ate Captain Furneaux's boat's crew, and who are still to be found about the northern sounds; and the Ngati-Tumata-Kokiri, who have also an evil record, since they were the men who attacked Tasman, off Wharawharanga Bay, 3 miles south of Separation Point—Massacre Bay, South Island. These people are probably now extinct. They are Kurahaupo tribes, but from what particular ancestor is not known. The Rangitane claim descent from Rongoueroa, who I believe to have been the elder brother of Paikea, Ruatapu, and Ira; and, if this is so, it is very singular that he should have come in Kurahaupo, for I have never heard it hinted that the three brothers came in that migration.

Ruatea
Apahapaitakitaki
Tupuahoronuku
Tawhito
5 Tupuaunurere
Tuariki
Rakeikauwhata
Tupaku
Tonganui
10 Pikinau
Te Upokoiora
Rangimahere
Te Rangihekeiho
Hinekotuku
15 Te Rangitaukawe
Te Hina
Te Mana-o-Tawhaki
Rawiri te Mana
Hunia-te-Hakeke
20 Wirihana-Hunia

—
Ngati-apa tribe.

Rongoueroa
Tautoki
Rangitane
Kopuparapara
5 Kuaopango
Uengarapango
Hamua
Wahamaro
Hine-rauteka
10 Pinenau
Tawhirirangi
Takerekere
Ruawharetai
Kaupeka
15 Te Rua
Heketara
Hikarerekau
Tangopi
Tawhiritoroa
20 Te Pihaiti
Kaohotuhanga
22 Te Aroatua

—
Rangitane tribe.

* Of the many chiefs who migrated to New Zealand, the names of very few of them can be traced now in the other islands of Polynesia, but Turi is one of them. His name is preserved in Tahitian tradition as that of a navigator.—EDITORS.

- I have from various sources compiled a list of all those who are said to have come to Aotea in the Horouta canoe, and it will be seen that this list is singularly large, when we consider that the canoe must have come here many generations before the Heketangarangi. The proof that this was so will be seen by the fact that Te Ihingarangi niece of Ngatoro-i-rangi, marries Tarinuku eighth in descent from Paoa. Why the records of Horouta should have been so well preserved it is not easy to say, for the later migrations, as I have shown, know little if anything of the crews of their canoes, and at most can name but one or two who have living representatives.
- 5 Te Whatupapakina
Taranuiarangi
Tuteihiao
Tarinuku =
Te Pupu
10 Te Wawan
Te Hoata
Te Ruaroa
Toakohuru
Tamahina
15 Tapaka
Tamakehu
Terekau
Tuao
Whakahirangi
20 Rangitutu
Kahukareao
Te Rereomaki
Te Kepa-Taitoko
24 Wiki-Kepa
(40 years old)

Ngati-Hāua tribe of Upper Whanganui.

The following is a list of those persons who are mentioned in tradition as having come in Horouta :—

THE CREW OF HOROUTA CANOE.

Awapaka	Mahaututea
Hounuku	Mawhakeururangi
Hourangi	Matangi rauangina
Hiwara	Makawa
Hine-mataotao, f.	Nenewha
Hine-kapuarangi, f.	Ngarangikahia
Hine-huhunurangi, f.	Paoa
Hau-ki-te-rangi, f.	Parutu
Hine-kau-i-rangi, f.	Pouheni
Hine-hakirirangi, f.	Taiaroa
Houatea	Tapoto
Hauararo	Tangihia Waitutu, f.
Houtakitaki	Tangaroa Kaitahi, f.
Hikitapua	Te Roka, f.
Hine-raukura	Te Paki
Hakutore	Tutepakihirangi
Ira	Te Hirea
Koneke	Tamatahaia
Karotaha	Tanewhaikai
Kura	Tahukaranga
Koia, f.	Tarana
Ki-te-rangi, f.	Tokipuanga
Mahu	Te Amaru
Mapuhiarangi, f.	Tunurangi
Manurewa	Te Ikirangi

Takiwhenua
 Tangitoronga
 Tararoti
 Takirangi
 Taikehu
 Tapuke
 Taneherepi
 Te Hatoitoi
 Tahore
 Te Manawaroa
 Rongotopea

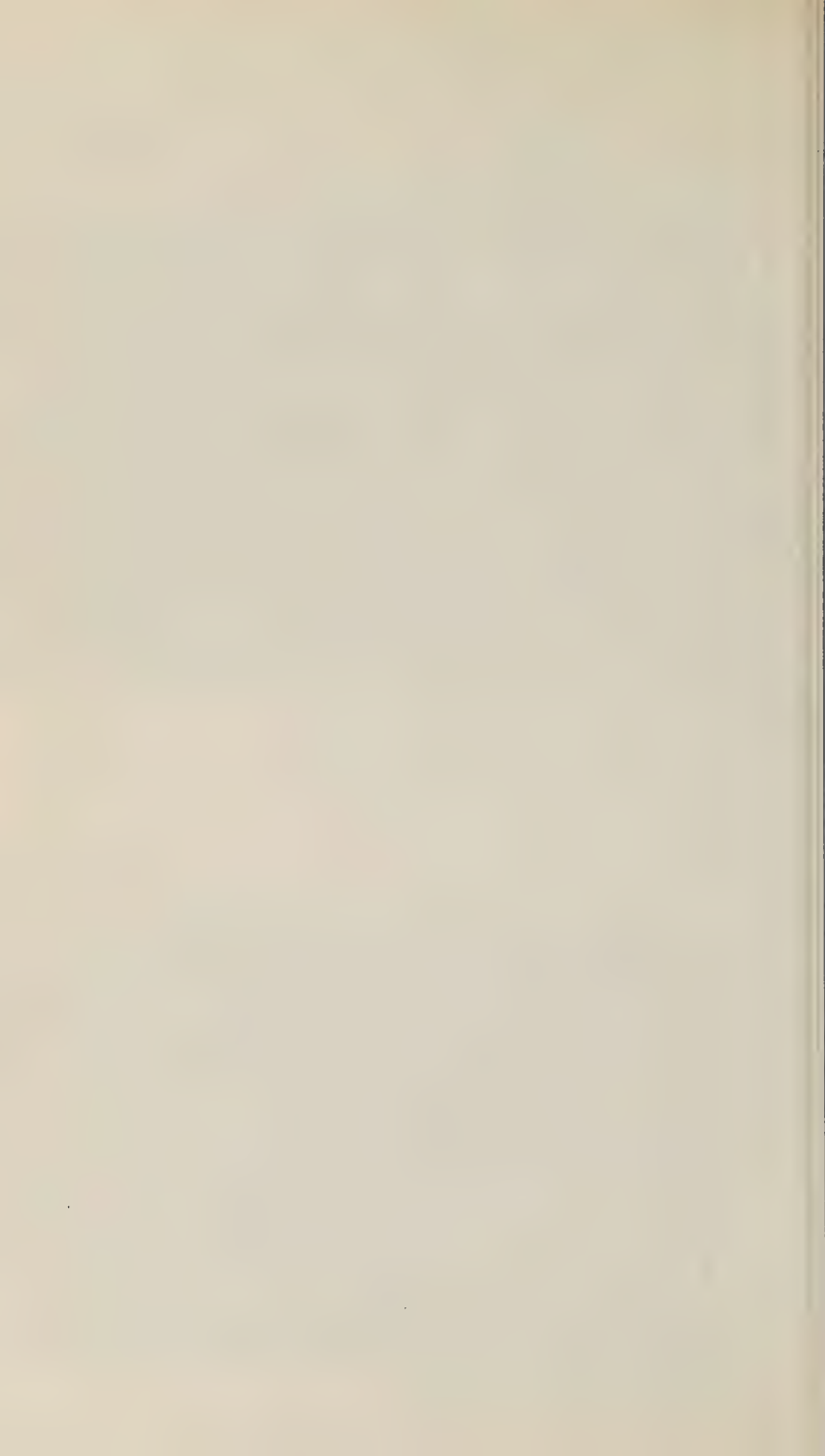
Rerepari
 Rangitarona
 Rourouatea
 Wahapaka
 Whioroa
 Whakapuku
 Waitaramea, *f.*
 Whakite, *f.*
 Whitianaunau, *f.*

From the foregoing it will be evident that the Arawa tribes, formerly known as Te Heketangarangi, occupy a position in Maori history altogether apart from, and superior to, that of any other migration, inasmuch that most, if not all, of those who came in their canoe are not only known to tradition, but can now be traced in the persons of living representatives.

But this is not the case with any other migration ; there the crews are either not known, or out of a long list only one, or at most two, can be shown to have living descendants.

This paper has not been written with the intention of proving that there is any foundation for the Arawa theory of the migrations, but merely to point out the inconsistencies and peculiarities in the history of certain tribes, and, above all, to draw attention to the necessity of collecting and arranging items of tribal history and genealogies, in order that at some time in the near future a tribal history of the Maoris may be written.







THE EASTER ISLAND INSCRIPTIONS,
AND THE WAY IN WHICH THEY ARE TRANSLATED, OR
DECIPHERED, AND READ.

BY A. CARROLL, M.A., M.D.

St. Kilda, Kogarah, near Sydney, Australia,
October 6th, 1892.

TO THE HON. SECRETARIES OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

GENTLEMEN,

In a letter of yours just received by me I find this sentence therein:—"It would gratify a very widely expressed desire if you would kindly give us a sketch of the method you pursue in translating the tablets." Having foreseen that some such wish might be expressed by those interested in the Easter Island inscriptions, I have been preparing a grammar and vocabulary as a key to the inscriptions, and an explanation of how to read the characters and the languages in or for which they were cut or engraved, and I said so in the introduction to the translations you expressed to me a wish to have published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. When this grammar and vocabulary, &c., is completed and published, it will of course make everything so clear that anyone will be able to learn, not only the key and the mode of working out the decipherment, but the whole of the subject, and allow them to translate the inscriptions. But to make this key, grammar, and vocabulary completely satisfactory will necessarily occupy a considerable number of printed pages; and I also find that I am still discovering fresh characters, words, and grammatical forms in the inscriptions I have received and am still reading; therefore the said keys, grammar, and vocabulary of the several inscriptions are still being added to. Thus both the bulk or volume of what has been prepared and what is being added to it will cause me to pause before publishing this at present; but this will not prevent me giving a rapid sketch of how I came to be able to learn what the inscriptions contained, what they were about, and the plan upon which they were written, &c. I therefore proceed to give this information as under, that you, and the readers of the *Journal* in which, with this letter, it may be printed, may thus know how the translations are made.

I have, &c.,
A. CARROLL.

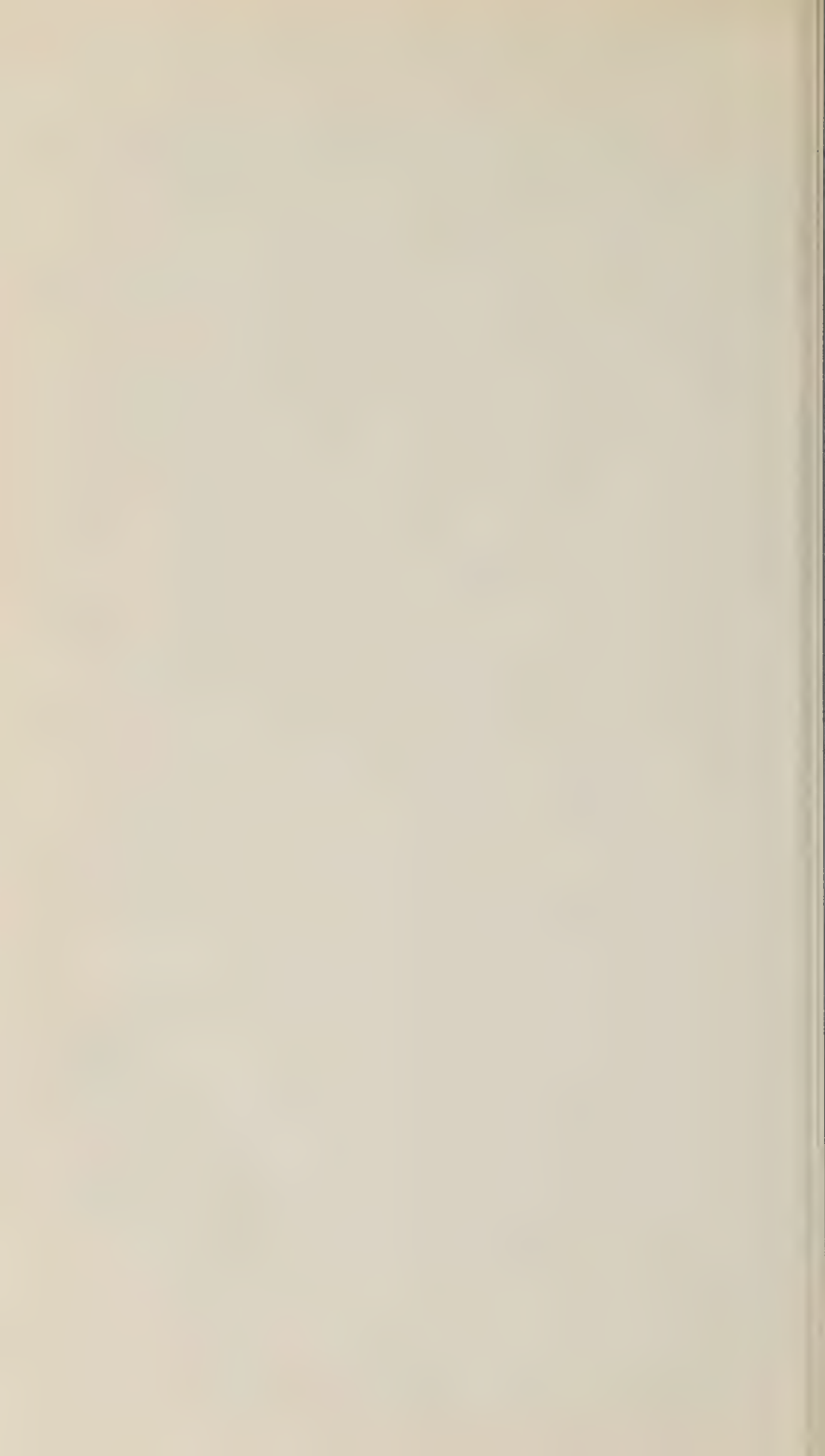
IT is over thirty years ago since I began the study of ancient writings, and having, as they became known, examined the oldest hieroglyphics of Egypt, Babylonia, India, Indo-China, and others discovered in Asia, I became gradually convinced that a similar plan was to be found among these, as the one system upon which they

were designed. The later findings of the Hittite, the Cypriot, those of Eridu, and old Chaldea, those in Arabia and elsewhere, confirmed this belief, while the writings thereon of the most profound scholars of France, Germany, America, Asia, and Great Britain made it certain that this was so. Upon further following out these investigations and collecting the ancient writings of America, I learned that in that so-called new continent—from the north in Alaska and Canada, to Mexico and the central region, and onward to the older nations in Ecuador, Peru, and other places—many ancient peoples there used hieroglyphic and phonetic, as well as ideographic, symbolic, and conventionally drawn figures as records of their mythologies, genealogies, traditions, histories, poems, and other matters and things. These American writings also contained similar forms for similar ideas, and were used upon the same plan as those in the so-called old continents. There also frequently was found a conventional drawing of human heads and figures, as well as those of animals, which were often intended to conceal from the common people what the chiefs, priests, scribes, or others instructed therein would readily recognise and understand. Continually pursuing these investigations and matters as opportunities served, or as I could procure materials from correspondents, I at length obtained a considerable number of specimens of writings in ancient characters of the old and new continents, and also learned that my correspondents, as well as scholars independent of my own investigations, were giving confirmations of my views as to the connections and correspondences between the ancient hieroglyphics, or the characters, and the ideas they were intended to convey.

More recently I obtained copies of the Easter Island inscriptions, and, upon examining them, was much impressed with the many instances in which the characters were similar to those used by the old civilised nations of America, who wrote in hieroglyphics or in phonetic characters. Learning that the natives of Easter Island were Polynesians, and not Americans, I thought it must be only a coincidence that the characters of the Easter Island inscriptions were like those of the American peoples, and that they must be a kind of writing used by Polynesians. I therefore began to search for similar Polynesian characters and writings of ancient or recent times. After a few years of investigation I discovered that the ancestors of the Polynesians did not write in these or in any other characters after they had passed beyond the Moluccas, on their way to the eastward, to the islands of the Pacific; and that, before then, their writings in ancestral times even were entirely different, and not in any particulars like those of the Easter Island inscriptions. Having quite satisfied myself upon these points, and wishing not to mislead myself, I began a fresh investigation into the writings of those who—voyaging across

EASTER ISLAND INSCRIPTIONS.

[illegible]



the Pacific before Europeans sailed there—might have left such a mode of writing upon Easter Island; but all such voyagers wrote in very different characters, and in a manner not at all like the inscriptions under consideration. But, without pursuing this part of the subject further here, it is only needful to say, that from the examinations made, it became clear from many direct and collateral kinds of evidence that the Easter Island inscriptions were engraved on the tablets by scribes who had learned the characters, and the methods of writing with them, from those who had learned and knew how they were used in ancient times in America, and especially in S.W. America.

Then came the question: In which language were they to be read or deciphered into? At that time believing that in the Inca times those monarchs had destroyed all kinds of writing within their dominions, and that only knotted cords, or *quipus*, were used, as the Spaniards had affirmed; and that no hieroglyphics, characters, or writings were permitted, I did not think the inscriptions could be in the languages of the regions over which the Incas reigned; but some of my correspondents soon convinced me that there were many distinct nations that wrote, in S.W. America, even during the Inca times, as they had done long before those monarchs. It therefore became probable that these inscriptions might be read in some of these S.W. American languages, as the characters and symbols were those used by such nations; and thus all the difficulties were gradually removed. From the time that these facts and keys were obtained, all doubts and uncertainties disappeared; and, by using the knowledge thus obtained, it was comparatively easy and simple enough—by comparing with known symbols and characters, and their equivalents and values—to decipher, and to put into syllables or words, and to read into the dialects or languages into which they combined. The only difficulty was that more than one language was employed by the scribes in the different inscriptions; and these had to be studied before they could be rendered into English correctly. Having thus given, as briefly as possible—reserving the steps and proofs for the work hereafter to be published—the circumstances and the mode by which the discovery was reached and arrived at, it now remains to describe what these hieroglyphics are; the nature and method of the inscriptions; the plan upon which the figures are read into syllables, words, parts of speech, and sentences. Of course it would be much easier, and please me much more, to have a means of printing the characters and the parts of these, so as to bring them before the eyes of the reader, instead of having to trust to descriptions only; but this would necessitate the casting of type for the purpose, and by the long delay in course of posting, after correction of proofs or errors, would prevent the publication of the information as to how these inscriptions

are read. When I am printing the grammars and vocabularies, I will have each of the characters, and the separate parts of these characters, clearly shown, with the equivalent or value of each in the language in which it was intended to be written and read, and also with its equivalent or interpretation in English. This will require the casting of special characters and their components, as type, to print or engrave from, which, with the care required, will, for so much work as will be necessary, require considerable time and expense; we must therefore now attempt by description to make it comprehensible.

It will be seen, upon examination, that the characters of the inscriptions either represent natural objects or symbolic figures, adopted from forms and parts of birds, reptiles, tools, weapons, implements, parts of human bodies, and other things. The attempt, as in most other American hieroglyphics, is not to copy anything exactly, but to give a *conventional* representation that was well known and understood, as of an eagle or other bird, a turtle, a tortoise, a serpent, a toad, a frog; or of a sword, a sling, an axe; or an arm, a hand, a leg, a foot, a feather, a wing, a tail of a bird or animal, a sun, a moon, a star, the sky, the coast, a rainbow, with bows, arrows, cords, &c.; each done in several distinct ways, each of which had its own significance. Thus a serpent might either be a friend or an enemy, a priest or a wise-teacher; but not to be misunderstood because of the attitude or the additions thereto, a feathered-serpent—such as so often appears in these inscriptions, and in all American writings—can never be mistaken for an enemy, or anything but a priest or a wise-teacher, by anyone conversant with American writings. It will also be apparent upon careful inspection of the inscriptions that numbers of the hieroglyphics are *compound*, and are constructed of distinct portions, these parts being variously combined in the different characters. Each of these parts so combined is either a syllable or a complete word, but sometimes a letter—either a vowel or a consonant—of a proper name, or a grammatical form (pre- or post-position), or other part of speech. When combined either in one complete character either a sentence is formed, or a subsequent or a conjoined character makes the sentence complete, or adds to its force or significance.

The symbol, or part of each character, gives it value in sound to the syllable or word it is used for, or intended to denote. Thus, an open hand reads *ma*, an abbreviation for *maqui*, “the hand;” but in this case it means “free.” In a pointing position it means *ma*, “let us see;” in other positions it has several other meanings. The head of the eagle, when drawn fully and properly, reads either *cuntur* or *condor*, according to which dialect the inscription is in. If it is an eagle’s head on a man’s body it reads *cuntur-runa*, “an eagle-man.” If the head has three feathers, and if an arm is drawn without a hand,

it reads *cuntur-cura-ne-i-runa*, "the eagle chief of the men." If a foot is also added, this reads *cha-ntin*, in addition to the above, or "the eagle chief of these tribes' men." Each figure, or part of figure, its position and relation to the other figures with which it is related, gives its meaning, but the phonetic value remains the same, unless the contrary is shown by some alteration of the figure. As an illustration of this, if the inscriptions are carefully inspected, several serpent symbols are displayed; some are separate, others are attached to persons, to birds, to birds' bodies, to reptiles' bodies, or to other combinations of these snakes; some are feathered, this being a common symbolic figure in many different parts of America, where it implies a teacher, a wise man, a priest, &c. In Aztec it read *quetzal-coatl*, in Itzan it was *cuculcan*. In one dialect of Quichua it read *amaute*, in another one *amaru*, &c., but all meaning the same—i.e., "wise teachers." In another form and combination in the inscriptions it is to be read *curi*, "the golden or shining serpent." In other combinations it is read as *amatu*, "the warlike snake; or as *machaca*, a "hated enemy," a "venomous snake;" or as *machacui*, "the spirit enemies," or "snakes of the dead; or as *palu*, "the deceitful snakes," or "treacherous enemies," or "opponents who are deceitful." Several other forms and combinations will be seen, but these show the ideas in the inscriptions borrowed from American models, and used by these scribes in similar ways for the same meanings. On the heads of many of the figures in the inscriptions will be seen an arrow or an obtuse blunt spear-shaped figure: this stands for the word *chuqui*, meaning "an old ancestor," and it often has one or two rings at the sides; these stand for *yn*, meaning "of the Sun," or *yn-ti*, "belonging to the Sun," and the right or left side indicates which tribe they belong to, as American symbolic figures in many parts of the S.W. indicate the tribe of the individual displayed, or which Sun-tribe he belonged to. These tribes of the Sun, also being Sun-worshippers, or rather adorers of ancestral spirits in the Sun, extended over the Cordillera for 2,600 miles north and south, and among them were many subdivisions, and each had an emblem to indicate it. In the inscriptions of Easter Island, under the arm of many of the figures will be seen a peculiar-shaped weapon: it is to be read *cchingana*, and this symbol means there "a labyrinth, a cave." In such places their dead were often deposited, and in it, when they felt pressed upon by enemies, they often took a final stand, and fought desperately.

The plan upon which the scribes made the inscriptions of Easter Island was to engrave the conventional figure of the person or his tribal *totemic sign*, as generally drawn in their symbolic manner, and thus widely understood by chiefs, priests, and scribes. This was an eagle-headed figure for those of the Eagle tribes—i.e., those called *cuntur-azo*. The Chamborazos were drawn with an axe—the old copper-axe being

chambo in one dialect, and *chimpo* in another. Then, if they added to this a certain form of an open hand it was to be read as *ma*, meaning in this case "free," and so continuing to add other symbols—these having each a phonetic value, and a fully understood meaning—until the sentence was completed. They also used certain simple and other more complex figures, which had a value or sound for reading, and which expressed, and was equivalent to the verb, noun, adjective or other part of speech, and were used according to recognised laws of combinations in compositions, or, as in these inscriptions, the sentence constructions, or on the statues, &c., the titles and names. Thus proceeding, the scribes added figure to figure until the passage, thought, or combined ideas were worked out completely. To fully explain all their methods would occupy a considerable amount of printing, and cannot therefore be here entered upon further, but it will all be clear enough for even those who know nothing of American writings of the ancient scribes when my grammar, &c., is published; but from these explanations any one will perceive how and in what manner these characters were written, and are to be read and interpreted. The indication as to which dialect or language the tablet inscription is to be deciphered into is shown by the inscription itself. When the language is one of those used in Ecuador or Quito it clearly shows it by the characters and symbols; or if it is the language of the Cunturazos, it is shown in a similar way; or if it is the language of the Chamborazos, or of the Mantas, or of the Tschimu, or if it is one of the Quichua dialects, or that of the Caribs, or of the Aymara, or of the Canarios, or the Collas, or any of the many distinct families of the languages of those in the S.W. American regions, the same indication by the change in the characters show which language they were written in.

The *shields* that are so often drawn in the inscriptions, show the *clan* about which the scribe was writing. They will be seen to have 3, 4, or 5 lines attached to them; these represent feathers, and indicate the clan whose crest or totem enabled them to wear this number of feathers. (Some of these clans have thus distinguished themselves in their onward migrations from Asia or Manchuria, to Alaska, from thence to Mich-cho-a-can—"the land of abundant fish" (now "Michigan")—onward to Central America, and thence to the Southern Cordilleras, during 2,300 years, under 104 different and successive chiefs, all this time retaining their totems, their shields, and the number of their feathers to distinguish their clans and subdivisions; their scribes engraving and painting their records, and their priests and chiefs learning and reciting their traditions and histories in their assemblies.) The shields are thus important in these inscriptions, as are the attached feathers; and the chevrons or bands marked upon these shields indicate the tribes and the families or

nations, according to other indicating symbols, all widely known. These shields, feathers, chevrons, bands, and other symbols, have existed and been used by the successive generations of the same peoples from very remote times, and were generally prevalent until the Spanish Conquest, and are still retained by many clans and peoples.

It will thus be perceived, that using the knowledge I have acquired of the American mode of forming and using their hieroglyphics or characters, and finding that the Easter Island inscriptions were derived from those of America, I employ this mode of deciphering the syllables or words, and adding these together in the indicated manner; then let them, when so conjoined, tell their own story in the language they are found to be written in; and then simply translate this into English. This explanation will make comprehensible, to even those persons least acquainted with such matters, how I decipher and read the Easter Island inscriptions. Those who have studied such hieroglyphic writings, will recognise, that the key to the decipherment being secured, every additional tablet read confirms the trust to be placed in the method employed, when it enables the reader to see that every sentence deciphered falls properly into its place in the story the inscription is relating. In the translations I have made, I find that the persons, places, and events introduced into some of the inscriptions are confirmed by the Spaniards, or other independent writers' accounts; although in the mass of the narratives they give clan, tribal, and family histories, that in no other written documents have been preserved, going back centuries before the Spanish Conquest.

When my work giving the value and meaning of every part of a character is published, every one who wishes to read these important historical and mythological inscriptions, will be able to do so without difficulty; but by my writing this, and its publication in this *Journal* in which my translations of inscription of Easter Island invocations, &c., appeared, it will serve to show how I learned to make those translations, and to interpret what for so many generations had remained unknown, and will explain to anyone who is interested therein how such decipherment was performed.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS RELATING TO THE EASTER ISLAND INSCRIPTIONS, AND WHAT THEY CONTAIN.

The inscriptions in hieroglyphic characters that have been found in the ground, or under the floors of the old stone houses upon Easter Island, have always been considered of such importance that all the scholars and antiquarians engaged in studying the past histories, mythologies, modes of thought or ideas, or the doings of ancient peoples, have desired to find out the meanings of these writings. It

has therefore been the reason for many persons in each of the countries of Europe, and in many parts of America, making various guessings as to what they were about. All expeditions and persons who have visited Easter Island since Captain Cook, or the beginning of this century, have ascertained that the natives they found there were related to the Polynesians, scattered over the region of the Pacific. Some of the least informed, and therefore less qualified to judge or form a correct opinion, have leaped to the conclusion that the inscriptions were written by these Polynesians, or their ancestors of the same races as themselves, either not knowing, or forgetting, that the Polynesians never made such characters or writings, and that the antiquities on Easter Island were different from those in the islands of the Polynesians proved to be their own work. The most positive proof that the inscriptions were not Polynesian work is furnished by the records of the several expeditions and visits of persons, in which it was found not possible to get rational translations from the natives found there of what these inscriptions were about; but, on the contrary, it is shown that each native gave a different interpretation of what *he thought, but did not know*, these inscriptions and writings contained, or even had relation to. In the accounts furnished to the American, French, Spanish, German, Austrian, Netherlands, British, and other learned Societies, in the publications pertaining to the Easter Island natives or these inscriptions, no translation, even purporting to be correctly given by the natives, or any other person, is furnished of these inscriptions up to the present time, though numerous guessings, all different, are given by various persons.

The discovery of the key to these hieroglyphics, the methods upon which they were written, and their decipherment into the language in which they were written, or rather in which they were engraved by the scribes upon the tablets, and the translation from the original language into the English, will make available the information they contain; and these old inscriptions will hereafter possess, for the antiquarian, the historiographer, the ethnologist, and others, a very considerable interest, and they will be of the greatest value, as they contain the histories, the thoughts, the knowledge and much else, not only of the ancestors of the peoples who came to this island of the Pacific Ocean, but more important than these, the histories of nations, races, clans, tribes, and mixed peoples who lived in South-Western America, and which have been in no other manner recorded in histories *by their own scribes*, which have come down to our times; so that we thus regain through these inscriptions, not only the ideas, but the very words of their prayers, and their modes of addressing their household and national deities, the methods of worshipping and regarding their ancestral spirits (who became their deities), the kind of adoration of the priests, chiefs, and people in their worship, both

public and private, and much else relating thereto, and showing the real instead of the fanciful ideas, as imagined by recent writers, of what these old peoples believed and really held with regard to their "sun-worship." We find that their "sun-myths" in reality regarded *the sun as the home of their ancestors' spirits*, and in their mode of addressing the sun it was actually only an abbreviated form of addressing these spirits of the ancestors in their home in the sun, which was their heaven or celestial region, the paradise of their forefathers' souls. Upon examining the histories found to be engraved on these inscriptions, much light is thrown upon the migrations, the intermarryings, the fightings, the conquests and drivings out, or the enslavings and the regaining of their freedom again; also their clan and tribal origins and race relationships. While some of these narratives may have been from oral traditions, others must have been from older documents or writings, as in some of these inscriptions several lines of quotations of precisely *the same compound hieroglyphics are copied* without any variation of any kind, although in part of the line before, and the one after, it is altogether different.

In some instances these inscriptions confirm the writings of the early Spanish authors, but in other instances they do not; but they give a clearer and evidently a better account of the circumstances they relate.

As these inscriptions were not written with the same object in view as historians now write, but were composed to briefly narrate to their own people what had happened to their forefathers, or their neighbours in the past, with the object of defining clan, tribal, or the chieftains's relationships: they do not go into long explanations or details, as they might have done if they had intended them for the perusal of foreigners. This makes them more reliable, so that we may pick out the information or the truths they contain about the old tribes, clans, or races from which these people had sprung, and thus we can learn much, that without these inscriptions would have been lost for ever, concerning the races or the nations in Ecuador, Columbia or in Quito, and in the Colla or Aymara countries, or around the lake regions of Titicaca, in which such great stone ruins as those near Tia-huanuco are still to be found. The Inca monarchs of Peru tried to destroy all histories except their own, and also tried to enforce their own rule, and the belief in their own miraculous origin, so that little of the history of the earlier or the neighbouring natives has been transmitted to the present times, although several of these nations wrote in hieroglyphics as well as in phonetic characters, but little of these, except these Easter Island inscriptions, have been preserved about the people who dwelt in the countries between the Andes or the other mountains and the coast of the Pacific, and still less is known of where any of these people came from, or which they themselves

regard as their primal or subsequent homes or stopping-places ; but in these Easter Island inscriptions such primary and secondary homes of the various clans and tribes are noticed, and referred to frequently.

The totemic-system, or crest-name of families or clans, as it is found in North America, in Asia, or in Europe among the Plantagenets=the Yellow-brooms, the Colonas=the Columns or Pillars, the Columbs=the Pigeons, and many others, is also found among the South-Western Americans, and is generally used and written in these Easter Island inscriptions, where we find the Chimborazos=a clan from the snowy mountains, the Atahualpas=the Turkey-cocks, the Tula or Tolla or Tulapin=the Turtles, the Rapa, the Cha-Rapa and others. They spoke and wrote of their enemies as the bad serpents or snakes, and of their wise men or their teachers as the wise or the good or the feathered snakes ; while birds and feathers became or rather remained and retained in these inscriptions the signification of emblems, or came to signify chiefs, princes, or rulers, or the spirits of the dead, or similar noble objects. The Sun, Moon, stars, rainbow, and other things in the sky symbolized the spirits of their dead ancestors and the deities. These totemic crests and symbolic names found in these inscriptions are traceable back step by step through all the stations or stopping-places of the clans and tribes from the south-western parts into the central, and then to North America, and through that continent again back further to Asia : through all these distant and long wanderings we can trace the same names of the families. Sometimes they translate them from one dialect or language to another ; thus Hindi becomes Indi, Sindi, Hindu, Yinti, Inti, Inta, Inka, Inca, Yndi, &c., as we follow these Turanian and other families from high Asia to its eastern coasts, and then across the islands to North America, thence to Central and thence to South-Western America. In all these regions these names bore relation to the sun and the sky-families. While over the similar routes and lands another family and its descendants called themselves Ra, La, Rama, Lama, Rai, Lai, Kai, Khai, Tai, Thai, Ti, Li, Line, Ray, Raymi, &c. This was also a sun and sky-family, as expressed in ancient and other languages, from high Asia across to North, to Central, and to South America, and also is found through the Eastern Archipelago and the Pacific Ocean islands. When we carefully examine the ancient histories as they were written in the most early times, or the traditions as told from fathers to sons, we shall find that these names are not accidental coincidences, but are the same names, retained with these modifications in the different changes of dialect and modes of speech as these people, after leaving their old homes, moved from station to station in their march onwards during their migrations—their intercrossings with the other peoples they encountered leading to these changed forms of words or proper names. Another name for a country and the people therefrom that we find in these inscriptions,

and that can be followed and traced out from the highlands and other parts of Asia, is Tu, or To, or Turan, or Tolan, or Tula, meaning the land of Tu, and Tu, To, Toa meaning a warrior, Tula and Tura, &c., names for a Turtle, or "the armoured one," as it means in both Asian and American languages. Tu became the warrior god in several combinations and languages as Tu-nibal in South-Western America. Some have confused this root, stem, &c., with the somewhat similar Tur; but this means a son or inheritor, as used in several languages. We find these names and roots in the oldest known languages, and in the Akkad, the Sumir, the Tatar, and others of high Asia; and from there we trace them through Eastern Asia, thence across the islands to Northern America, and in many parts of it, until we follow it to the Mexican highlands, where Tu-la, To-la, Tul-lan, Tul-te-can, &c., in the inscriptions in diverse dialects, it is frequently found; thence it passes through various places in Central America, and onward until it reaches Quito, Peru, and other parts of S.W. America; and it is found in the inscriptions of Easter Island. In some tribes and clans of America, they speak in their traditions of Tu-la, as their warrior; and in others of Tu-la-pi, and Tu-la-pin—"the Turtle Land," and "the Turtle people." A closely allied and related people were the Rapa—"the Tortoises;" and the Cha-Rapa—"the Small Tortoises"—also nearly connected with them; and these are all frequently mentioned in these Easter Island inscriptions, the Rapa people giving their name to that island. It would appear to be evident that the present Polynesians' ancestors, when they reached Easter Island, must have obtained this name from the American migrants there, as they still continued to call it Rapa, and added the adjective Nui="great," to the name of Rapa, translating it into Rapa-nui, or Great Rapa, and styling Oparo Isle, from which they had come, Rapa-itⁱ="Little Rapa," thus making it correspond with Cha-Rapa, as it was called in the language of the Americans and the inscriptions, these migrants having also reached that isle of Oparo in the low archipelago, and built one of their hill-forts there.

There is another name that is very prominent all over the above-named widely spread region from Asia to America, which, as we follow it from station to station in the migrations, we find changed from one language into another, but always with the same *two* meanings, that is to say: sometimes it is used for foes, enemies, or oppressors; and at other times for wise-men, or teachers, or distinguished persons, or spirits, or deities; this name is serpent or snake. It is thus found in the oldest writings, in the Akkadian, the Sumirese, the Chaldean, the Egyptian, the Æthiopian, the Arabian, the Indian, the Chinese, the Tatar, the Indo-Chinese, the North American, the Central American, and S.W. American, and in the

Easter Island inscriptions. This name of snakes is thus used, we find, in hundreds of the dialects and languages of the above-named regions; and in the inscriptions of Easter Island it is often used in both of these meanings. Wherever we find the word snake with these two significances, we shall by full research be able to trace it back to its Asian home; and a careful analysis of this term will show us why the snake has been connected with two such opposite ideas, as enemies and oppressors, or teachers, rulers, and protectors. The reason is, that one was connected with the sky and the deities; the other with the demons, or under-the-earth enemies and opponents. In old Chaldea and Akkadia, Anu—the sky god, or deity of the abyss—as his name shows, was the sky snake, viz. =“the lightning”; as A is =“star,” or =“deity;” N is =“sky,” =“abyss;” and U is =“snake;” in after times he became the chief of the spirits, deities and protector; whereas Ti-an, and Tiam, and Tiamat—the demons or snakes of the earth—were the enemies with whom the conflicts with the sky-spirits were carried on; and these dragons and snakes of the earth, or below the earth, were the oppressors of men, the evil spirits. From these olden times the term snakes has been used, by all people who derived their ideas from the Turanians, in these two opposite and diverse senses; and in the minds of these people there was no vagueness or contradiction in using the term snakes to imply such different things as enemies and teachers; and they had no difficulty in distinguishing the snakes they thus were speaking of, though sometimes they added some other word as good, or feathered, to the term snakes.

Without a clear comprehension of the totemic names, and the epithets applied to the teachers, the chiefs, the friends, or the enemies, these inscriptions we are considering would be less easily understood, but with this they are quite clear to anyone acquainted with the languages of the writers, or those for whom they were written. Such phrases as *yntin*=the sun's, or *yntirunantin*=the sun's men and their belongings, or *yntichuri*=the sun's children, and many such phrases which so frequently are found in these inscriptions all mean that they were considered to be of the families of the peoples whose ancestral spirits were in the sun, and who would thus reverently regard the sun as the home of the spirits of their dead relations, and to which their spirits after death would return, and from which their spirits had been derived; as well as their protecting spirits or deities being found in the sun. Therefore all the sun's families were spoken or written of in this manner with more or less respect, while all others, not so related to the sun, were considered or regarded as barbarians and outcasts. The term loved, or beloved, tribe is very frequently found in these inscriptions, as applied to their own or any confederated tribes.

The Easter Island inscriptions not only relate to events and circumstances which happened during hundreds of years, or from 600 A.D. to about 1300 A.D., but covered what had occurred over very wide regions, and the originals must have been engraved or written by very different scribes, and these in different ages, as in the earlier inscriptions the grammars as well as the vocabularies present considerable differences, for while in the later inscriptions the sentences are often as elegant and polished as was the Quichua speech during the times of the later monarchs at Ceuzco, in the earlier inscriptions the grammatical rules are not so closely attended to, and instead of translating into their own language the names of persons, things, &c., these are introduced in the Colla or Aymara forms, or in the Caran, the Tschimu, the Manta, the Chimbo, the Quitiño, or the Caraban—between which there was very little likeness—as man in Quichua is=*runa*, in Aymara=*hague*, and in Tschimu=*nofoen*. Women, in these several languages, is respectively=*huarmi*, *marmi*, and *mecherroec*; and in each of the other languages above named there is as great or even greater differences found. In the earlier inscriptions the names of persons and things are inserted without being translated, as though the scribes did not, for some reason, think it well to alter them from the original words or sounds. The scribes who wrote the earlier writings abbreviated where possible, to save trouble, or from some other reason; whereas in the later times they adopted the more complex grammatical forms for male and female pronouns, with the genders, numbers, cases, and the exclusive and inclusive forms carefully attended to. These inscriptions are very valuable, as showing the movements of peoples of distinct races in S.W. America so long ago, but more so as proving the sailings and voyagings over the Pacific Ocean for long distances in sailing vessels, navigated with certainty, to the intended ports for trade or other purposes, long centuries before Europeans knew of the Pacific Ocean. But in addition to what they contain and describe, these inscriptions are suggestive, for if the sailings took place to Easter Island, and over fifteen hundred miles beyond it to Oparo, why should the ever-venturesome and far-sailing Polynesians have stopped short and never have gone to Western America—when we find such names for tribes there as, Tanga-nga, and such rivers as, Maui (or Maori)? These suggestions are impressed upon our minds; but if the inscriptions had only been able to remove the difficulties from “this mystery of the Pacific”—the erections in Easter Island—they would have still been very valuable, if for nothing more than this, of telling us who the people were who erected them.

TRANSLATION OF AN EASTER ISLAND INSCRIPTION ON A TABLET
MARKED No 1 (FRONT).

(Kindly lent By S. Percy Smith, Esq., F.R.G.S.)

“The bones of our ancestors of the Sun-fires, the masters of the beloved tribe of our sacred dead ancestors of the holy Sun-people, the people of the mountains, the Charcas, a holy clan. The wise teachers place them as of the dead ancestors. The Eagle chief was of these dead ancestors and their fires of the Sun. The Eagle chief, wearing the tribal plume, and a master of the free Chunchas ; of the Sun’s tribes a master and a warrior beloved of the tribe, the master abounding with their love. The mothers of the Sun’s people in their dwelling-place with the Eagle chief and his people, the holy dead ancestors; this Eagle chief of the plumes; of the Sun-fires, the sacred chief. The men of the two-sailed vessel came, attacked the Quichua Sun’s men and the Quito people and their rulers, the masters of the beloved tribes. These gorging barbarians, the Sun-mothers, in their dwelling-places attacked, they injured them; they overwhelmed them and the sacred ancestral fires. They, the Snakes, took their places. The Snakes the places of the Sun’s men they took. The sacred ancestral fires in the coast-lands for seven years were extinguished, and among the Rapa people for six years. Then the chief of the Eagle tribes fought in the coast-lands for six years, and again the chief and the Eagle clan went to the coast lands for other five years. Then this chief of the Eagle tribes died, and the tribes fled from the coast-lands to the region of the head waters; and the Snakes occupied after the Eagle chief, and tribes were overwhelmed and ended on the coast-lands. Five years after the Eagle tribes were overthrown the clan of the royal bands struggled before the Snakes, them replaced. They were then seen to be seized by the barbarians, who gorged upon these loved tribes for five years. Our ancestors they had turned off—they had mastered them, these free men in five years. This clan of the Sun and its chiefs was overthrown, was mastered, was homeless, were these Sun’s men. The great Caña were homeless. The Sun’s men, the mountain clansmen, were dead, and the fires of this clan, and the chiefs of this clan of the mountains. Then the Charcas under their chiefs fought for the freedom of their homes. The Quichuas were overthrown, and their freedom thus ended, their Sun-fires and their clan’s chief was dead, and the people on the coast had mastered these beloved tribes. The Cha-Rapas, a branch of the Eagle tribes, with the Guanacas, living on a part of the coast; the main body of the Eagle tribes nearest the coast, with assistance from Quilago, beloved of the tribe, under a chief of chiefs of the Sun’s men, returned, and with their weapons ended all—overthrew all, and thus finished the trouble.

The master of the Lord of Lican, a child of our ancestors, and of

the ancestors of those on the coast of the Cañario, and of the Mucos of the coast, all fought for seven years, but after six years the Cañario began to relax. The Guanacas and the Eagle tribes also, after six years attacking of the place of the Snakes, and after these six years of attacking, and by the aid of these Cañario, the freedom of the Snakes was stopped after these six years. Then the Maya clan threatened the Cañario, and the free homes of the tribes beloved, Then these Mayas turned and attacked the ancestor's clan of the royal bands, but the Cañario brought this freedom to an end after six years. Then the Scyri of Quito, a prince of the Sun-fires, overwhelmed the Mocoa clan, and the royal band of the coast-lands, after eight years of struggle with these and the Intagas of the coast-lands, and the Yambayas brought it to an end. The Intagas and the Chinchas derived their Sun-fires from the Royal-Charcas. Their princes were chiefs of the children of the Sun. The sacred Chinchas, among the coast people, the Sun's men, who as free men of the Chin had returned, had these sacred Chin, to the coast as masters: the chief body they were of the Cha-Rapas.

Chimborazo had a handsome son, of his body the chief descendant, named Duchicela, they were of the sacred head-waters people of the Sun, some of whom went to the coast-lands, our ancestors, from their bodies. A temple was seven years in building by these ancestors, the war chiefs and the Mancus. They made it for their Sun-fire, for they were Sun's people, and of the Charcas.

"Duchicela was the sacred head of the Sun's people, the Chimbu. Toa, who became his chief wife, she was water-borne, and in the front of all taken as the chief descendent. In the temple of Quito for seven years staying, this chief of the Sun's people the Chimbu; the ady Toa and all her tribes thus obtained. In these days, in the coast lands, the souls suffered by the dead bodies being gorged, of the Sun-families, by the Serpents who thus finished, these, the Sun's men of Sun's ancestors, being driven below by these Serpents; and the free mothers to wives turned by them. The Guaracas, the Rapas, the Intagas, and their sacred heads; the Snakes overwhelmed and their power brought to an end, and these holy ones were punished and overwhelmed; they were thus cruelly punished and overrun, these sacred heads, these holy war-birds of the tribes. The Sun-fires of the coast in those days, on the coast, were extinguished. (*Some characters here indistinguishable.*) The tribes dwelling near the head-waters were attacked by the Eagle tribes, and for five years were overwhelmed, and for another five years were watched; then the Rapas undertook this duty for five years; then the clan of the Royal-bands did so for four years. Then the Snakes attacked the Mocoa for four years. Then the chiefs of the Sun-peoples gathered the Charcas, the Eagle tribes, the Royal clan, and overran the Snakes for five years; then the Cha-

Rapas and the Eagle people overwhelmed them, mastered, and then watched them. Then the Mocoa joined Quilago and the Quispe ; and the great mothers near the coast were released, and became again the great mothers of our peoples. Then the people of Quito, with the Guanacas, a beloved tribe, with people from the head-waters region, with their masters and the men, liberated the vaults and tombs of the Challu nation, that the Snakes had seized. Then they assisted the Mocoa ; and the troubles in Quito were ended after five years ; and the women were set free, and became the free mothers of the Sun's men. The Tuccumans' women were also liberated, and became wives of the Sun's men.

“ Then the handsome prince liberated more of the women from the Snakes of the coast tribes, and this prince made free these mothers ; and in Quito the trouble ended, and the Challu being liberated, and the wars in Quito were ended for our ancestors, and the mothers of the Sun's people then there. Afterwards the Eagle clan attacked and overthrew the barbarians, and the chief of Snakes, and also the Mocoa chief, for the women and the mothers of the Sun's people had been seized in their dwellings by the barbarians who had overcome the beloved tribes, and seized their women as wives for these barbarians, and had gorged themselves upon the beloved tribe of the Cha-Rapa, whose tombs they had taken, and had mastered the free men, and had overwhelmed them had these Snakes, also the Fires of the Sun ; but the Eagles came down and overthrew them, and released them, and also the sacred Chin people and their chiefs, who had been overwhelmed. These Chin people had long before been conquered and taken by the mountaineers, who had enslaved them—they were branches of the dead Quichua ancestors, many of whom were Collas ; and this sacred people were overthrown and ended, so were their free mothers, and the dead bodies of these women were ill-used. They were of the mountain tribes, their chief spirits, their masters, the sacred dead bodies of these masters were insulted ; but the Eagle warriors revenged the sacred masters of this Sun's people, and returned to the Sun's people the Sun's good times, and also upon the coast with the masters they loved ; and they also relieved the Guanaca tribe, sacred and beloved, they returned the Guanaca, these Sun's people, to their homes, they continued the people of the Sun with the holy and loved bodies of their dead of the coast people. (*Some characters indistinguishable.*) Sacred loved and those of the Huayllas tribes of their Sun-fires, who masterfully watched these men until they had turned them to Sun people. The Cha-Rapas and their chiefs of the Sun people, and of the Sun-circles, and the Huangas, were by the barbarians, and those they regarded as their chiefs, from near Cuenca, who passed and took the beloved tribes, punished and overthrew them, and made them their servants, and took the sacred

things, and the daughter of a chief of the clan of the upper-waters, the people of the noble bands of the Charcas, of the master and lord of these, she was the daughter of these Sun's people; from her afterwards descended the chiefs of the Coyaimas; in after times Huasca and Ata overthrew these Sun's people, seized them, and also seized their valley to the end of the pass, when on the coast they attacked the branch of the Manta then upon that coast. The coast people who were descended from the people at the region of the head-waters, where their sacred ancestors died near the fires of the Sun, which Sun is the chief inspector of men, women, and the spirits in whose temple burns the Sun-fire, the source of other fires of the Sun, the coast-land tribes thus referred to are the Chincha, and their rulers, who were punished and overthrown when Quito's freedom was ended by Ata and his warriors; but previous to these sacred ones being overwhelmed and ended, the Eagle tribe had conquered and overturned their chiefs, bringing these to an end, and leaving the people without a chief or head, for the Chincha nation. Then the spirits of the dead caused other rulers to govern these Chincha, but the Snakes coming like venomous Serpents to these Sun's people, and the mothers' resting places, and to the people from the upper-waters, these mothers and these ancestors were seized, and these ancestors of the people from the head-waters were bound up, and then this sacred and handsome tribe was gorged, the barbarians gorged them, the beloved tribe; they took that portion of Quito and ended it, with these head-waters' people, in Quito who had been related to the Cuchuna, whom the Eagle tribe had once overthrown, as our wise teachers tell us how these tribes from the head-waters' region were punished and overthrown and their sacred ancestors, and their Sun-fires were lighted nearer the coast, with their women, their temple officers of the Sun's people, and the Vestals of the Sun's people, to Quito came these beloved tribes. From the snowy mountains, say our wise teachers came the people of Rapa when their Sun-fires were extinguished, and their sacred ancestors were seized, under the chiefs chosen near the Sun-fires the men of this tribe moved off. (*The translation of the back of No. 1 tablet here commences.*)

“The sacred bodies borne by our ancestors, the holy men of the tribe, these holy ones approached the coast, dividing into these branches in the coast countries, one settling near where sacred Tu was beloved by his tribe, another among the Cañario, the others scattering among those people their relations from the snowy mountains, those from Lican, and those from Runahuanac, among these Sun's people on the coast, and among the people from the head-waters these tribes settled, and near other clans now dead. The Huarina, whose chief was gorged and whose clan is dead. The Uramarca of the head-waters whose clan is dead. The Huarina were gorged

among the head-waters' regions; their clan is dead. The Titiuru replacing them, after the Huarina were gorged and their clan was dead. The Puruhua arose as a tribe in this region of the upper-waters; but the clan of Puruhua is also dead, and no longer found in Yanahuara and among the head-waters, this clan is dead. The Puru branch of these lived longer among head-waters; but was not so great as the clan that was dead. Among these head-waters, and the dead clans that once were there, were the Yunca, they after four years of struggling with the tribes on the lakes were driven off. Our wise teachers tell us that during four years, barbarians gorged the Chinchas and the Sun's men. The Mallanca and the Colla were also gorged, and other holy men, when they were holding a feast of the Sun, and a potato feast with chants and songs near their temple by the sacred rock, a war began which lasted four years before the tribes were again at peace, during which the Intags, and the Changos, injured the sacred men, and the spirits and the souls suffered and many of the clans were dead before the Sun's men were free from strife. Then the clan from the snowy mountains lighted the Sun-fires and became allies with the rulers of the Chinchas, and the Runahuanca, but when the chief of the Puruhua, after six years died. The Cha-Rapa were punished and overwhelmed by the barbarians, who gorged the loved tribe. Then the chief of the Eagle's tribe came to their assistance with his officers and men, and ended the troubles of this tribe, and the Snakes were thus overwhelmed, and their acts ended by the Eagle chief from the mountains, who ended the trouble and set them free. Punished and overwhelmed were those on the coast, and the Quichua were again free. The coast tribes were punished during four years, and overwhelmed. They were punished with, and by the assistance of, the Lady Toa and her husband, of the mountain people; they overthrew the barbarians, the Snakes, as well as assisting in the fights with these Snakes, parts of the Tschimu lands were overrun by these Snakes for five years. These barbarians also gorged the loved tribe of the Challapampa, but, with Toa's assistance, after a time they lighted the Sun-fires and became free men. In after times a prince of Quito in these parts attacked, near Guambacho, a part of the Tschimu-Canchua people, and these near Hua-Rapa, another portion of the Tschimu, and also the men of a free people—the Huama; afterwards this prince attacked the Guamachuco, related to the peoples of the upper head-waters' districts. Then there was an intervention of the Eagle chiefs from Puna Island and from Hua-rapa, and the Huama men again became free; but Ata, the prince, again attacked the Challapampa (a people of the fishing-flats) and the Guamachuco, while one of his chiefs went off and attacked Rapa, and took it, and also the holy men of the Cha-Rapa. Then the chief of the Eagles tribes being dead, the people of the head-waters and those of Yanahuara were made

to suffer: the Snakes overwhelmed them, their women were taken, their Fires of the Sun extinguished. These Sun's people were injured, and their women. They were punished, overwhelmed, overthrown by these Snakes, who were the overthrowers. Many of the dwellers in the island of Puna were killed, punished, and overthrown. The Tocay were many of them killed; these were children of the Sun, and the men of this Sun's tribe were punished and overwhelmed, and their souls destroyed. These were of Quichua ancestry, but the Snakes overwhelmed them, as they did the head-waters' people, and those of Yanahuara, as also the children of the Yuncu, and the Challapampa people, and those from the Yngachungana, and the Cha-Rapa; their women and the Sun-fires. They were mastered, as were the Muzo people, the holy temple of the chiefs near Chungana of the Sun people. Not even the enjoyment of the souls of the dead could be free, but all were overwhelmed, punished, and overthrown. The Tschimu, the branches of the Tschimu, and the Hualla, who assisted to injure the souls of the dead; but by the Sacred Chief of Souls, and the acts of the Rapa people, these wicked ones were punished, and many overthrown and taken to Rapa, roped, tied, bound, and overwhelmed. The barbarians attacked the Huarca beloved tribe, the barbarians assaulted this loved tribe the Huarca, and their sacred temple with its Fire of the Sun, and the sacred and free Vestals fled to the vaults and to Puna off the coast, these women of the Sun, the sacred ones, being overwhelmed. Then the prince commenced an attack, lasting two years, and with the the Intagas it continued for two years; they continued to attack the four clans of the Manta—the Apechique, the Pichua, the Pampahuaci, the Passau—and also three tribes of the Chuns—the Chunana, the Chintay, the Collanche. The Snakes, the Manta had punished, and overwhelmed the tribes, and their rulers in Quito, the sacred and loved children of the Sun, and of the Sun-fires extinguished on the coast, and the masters, and the sacred warriors, and the ancestors of the Cha-Rapa—a Sun's people, with the Sun-circles of these Cha-Rapa. Then the prince and the officers, with the rulers of these loved tribes again recovered their freedom. Afterwards the Eagle chiefs overthrew the places of rest, having punished and overwhelmed the Guamachucos, and then attacked in the country of the upper-waters, the three clans and tribes, the Chunana, the Chintay, the Collanche, and overwhelmed the clans in a four years' raid, and the remaining tribes in an attack lasting two years. The masters of a loved tribe, the Picu, of the free Charcas, with the rulers of the Chincha men, and the Huamachacas, were engaged in a war in the coast-lands, joined in by the Guanaca in the coast-lands. The Huamachaca became captives of the Chimbri—men from the mountains; and the men of this tribe were forced to the coast, and thus overwhelmed and punished by the men of the Sun; but the

Snakes of the Apechique tribe (the mountaineers) and the Huama took many of them captives to the coasts.

“From the old land of Tolan had come the ancestors of the rulers of the Chinchu, and the foremost master among the rulers of Runahuanac. Some of their women had come from the mountaineers, overthrown later by the Incas, and some from the Huallmi, who in later times were found among the Tschimu. From the old land of Tolan had come the Vestals of the Sun; these were of the ancient Tolan people. The barbarians coming to the coast gorged themselves with the holy men found near the coast for six years, those who were under the rulers of Quito, or under the chiefs of the Eagle’s tribesmen. The women of the Rapa, the mothers of this clan of the Sun’s people, and the Vestals of the Sun of this free and loved tribe were captured. The rulers of the Chinchu, the clan, and the chiefs of Liribamba, and those of the town of Lican, whose ancestors lighted the fires of the Sun, among this Sun’s people. These chiefs of men, their heads were turned from their Prince Ata, and he only reigned as their chief for eight years. Long before this the chief Hualla and his clansmen had migrated under the guidance of the Spirits, taking their women and the women of the sacred chief with all his men, and, on a two-sailed vessel, sailed away. This chief’s ancestors were the Eagle chiefs and the Cha-Rapa, the Eagle chief of the Puruha. Others were among the dead Chimbu-razu. The Luan ancestors who lighted the Sun-fires among the Sun’s people, the descendants of the Chinchu. In the songs and chants of the women they sing of these things, as do the women of the region of waters, and of the Yañahuara. It was the ancestors of those who in the town of Lican lighted the fires of the Sun for the Sun’s people, the Chinchu, and kept it burning there for six years, even when opposed by the rulers of the Huaman, as the women sing in their chants. Then many of the people from Yañahuara, after these six years with the sacred chief in a two-sailed vessel went off to the island of Puna. After this the fires of the Sun went out in Lican, and the days of our ancestors in various parts of Quito were ended, and these free, Sun’s children of the Chinchu, the Golden Sun’s people, those sacred, free, and beloved tribes, are remembered in the chants of the women of the Cha-Rapa.

“The women of the Picu tribe had to change to the Chiucha their fires of the Sun from their sacred and loved clan home. Their women had been punished and overwhelmed, and the tribal fires extinguished by the Huarcas after five years’ fightings. Near the Sun-fires of the ancestors of the Sun’s people and the town of Lican were branches of the Ticu tribe, also the chiefs of the Intaga, the Changos, and various people of the Sun’s clans. Three of these united, and these three joined the clan of the chief Hualla, thus adding to this clan these

three others. Then these united tribes went to Ympris with the chief of the Yntaga, and the Changos, and part of the clan of the royal bands. They afterwards joined the Sun-people of Puna. Some remained with the Chief Hualla and his clan, others joined the Sun-people of Puruha, and of Puruhua; some passed to the Eagle chief of the Manchua, others were with the Lican ancestors' Sun's fires; while others were among the coast-lands people, and among the sacred women, the mothers of the Sun-peoples, and they extended to the Purumacua, near the Mauli River of the coast. Thus among the Sun's peoples' ancestors are found these Yntaga, Changos, Yngayncusi, Huascas, the women of whom Ata afterwards punished, and overwhelmed, and ended the ancestral songs of their women of the coast. Upon the coast were some of the clans of the Chief Hualla, and those of the rulers of Runahuanca, and the Chinchu. The sacred, loved tribe was for eight years oppressed by him."





THE ASIATIC ORIGIN OF THE OCEANIC PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

BY THE REV. D. MACDONALD, OF EFATE, NEW HEBRIDES.

TABLE I.

English.	Efate.	Samoan.	Malay.	Malagasy.
I	kinau	'o a'u, 'ou	aku	aho,* izaho
Thou	nago, ago	'o 'oe	angkau	hianao
He	nai	'o ia, na	inya, iya	izy
We (Inc.)	nigita, akita	'o i tatou	kita	isika
We (Excl.)	kinami	'o i matou	kami	izahay
You	kumu	'o 'outou	kamu	hianareo
They	nara	'o i latou	iya, marika	izy, izareo

THESE pronouns, taken from widely separated parts of the island world, do not at first sight appear to be identical with each other, and it may be as well to show that, as is well known, they are. In order to do this it must be observed that the 'o in the Samoan list is not really a part of the original pronoun, but (for *ko*) a demonstrative particle, and that the *ki* in Efate *kinau* and *kinami*, and the *ak* in *akita*, as also the *k* in Malay *kita* and *kami*, and the *ah* in Malagasy represent or include the same particle. In the Malagasy *hianao*, *hianareo*, *izaho*, *isika*, *izahay*, *izy* and *izareo*, the *hi* and *iz* are demonstrative particles similarly prefixed to the real pronoun; and the same may be said of the *n* in Efate *nago*, *nai* and *nigita* and *nara*, and of the *i* in Samoan *o i latou*, *o i matou*. The *tou* (for *tolu*, "three") of Samoan *tatou*, *matou*, *outou*, *latou* must also be recognised as not a part of the original pronoun, but the numeral "three." Thus we have,—

TABLE II.

English.	Efate.	Samoan.	Malay.	Malagasy.
I	nau	a'u	aku	aho
Thou	ago	'oe	angkau	anao
He	ai, or i	ia, na	inya, iya	y (<i>i.e.</i> , i)
We (Inc.)	gita, ita	ta	ita	ika
We (Excl.)	nami	ma	ami	ay
You	kumu	'ou	kamu	anareo
They	āra	la	iya, marika	y, areo

* It should be noted that the Malagasy *o* is sounded as the Melanesian and Polynesian *u*.—EDITORS.

And these are still more plainly shown to be identical by the following considerations. The *reo*, in Malagasy *anareo*, is not a part of the original pronoun, but a plural word meaning "those," and seen in *areo*, *marika*, *la*, and *ara*, also; *anareo*, therefore, denotes literally, "you—those," or better, perhaps, "you—those—there." The real pronoun, or what remains of it, is seen in *ana* (*reo*), which is a shortened form of *anao*. Now *anao* is identical with Malay *angkau*, Efate *ago* (i.e., *ango*); *anao* is therefore for *ankao* by elision of the *k* and *angkau*, or *ankao*, is *an*, a demonstrative particle prefixed to the real pronoun *kau*. That this is so is suggested by the fact that in Malay itself we have this pronoun suffixed as *kau*, and occurring also, used separately, *dikau* for *angkau*, with the demonstrative *di* (Tagala *ikau*), *camo*, Negrito dialects *icamo*, *hicamu*) instead of *an(g)*. It may be, however, that we should regard *dikau* as for *diangkau* (like *diya* for *dinya*—see below), and so like Malagasy *hianao* (for *hiankao*). But the main proof of the *an* (or *ang*) being a demonstrative prefix to, and not a part of the original pronoun, is the fact that both in Malay and Efate (more especially in the latter, in which the suffixed pronouns are more used) this pronoun when suffixed drops it. In Efate the suffix pronoun never has it, while the separate pronoun is never without it. As the suffixed forms of the pronouns help us in our enquiry in more than one way they may be here given:—

TABLE III.—NOMINAL SUFFIX.

Singular.	Efate	Samoa.	Malay.	Malagasy.
1	ku, gu	'u	ku	ho
2	ma	o'u, a'u	kau, mu	nao, ao
3	na	na	nia	ny (ni)
Plural.				
1 (Inc.)	gita	tatou	kita	tsika
1 (Excl.)	nami	matou	kami	nay, ay
2	mu	outou	kamu, mu	nareo, areo
3	ra	latou	nia	ny

These may be called the nominal suffix; coming after a noun or particle as in Efate, or after a particle as in Samoan, they denote "of me," or "my," "of thee," or "thy," "of him," or "his," &c.

It is remarkable that the suffixed pronoun of the third person singular—that is, the nominal suffix—begins with *n*, and this gives countenance to Bopp's opinion that the Malay *iya* (Samoan *ia*) is for *inya* by the "ausfall—eines *n*." According to this, Malay *diya* is for *dinya*, Tagala *siya* for *sinya*, Malagasy *izy* for *izni*, Efate *nai* for *nani*; in other Efatese dialects, *nigā* (ninā), *kinini*, and *inia* (plural, *inira*). In Samoan also there is *na* as well as *ia*, corresponding to Malay *inya*, *iya*

In the New Hebrides and other Papuan (or Melanesian) dialects we have the short forms of these pronouns, called, from their being

used exclusively to denote the person and number of the verb, the Verbal Pronoun, and they are of importance to our subject. These may be seen in "South Sea Studies."* The works of the Rev. Dr. Codrington, and of Gabelentz may also be consulted ("The Melanesian Languages," and "Die Melanesischen Sprachen.")

THE VERBAL PRONOUN.—TABLE IV.

English.	Efate.	Dialect of Efate.	Epi.	Aneityum.	Cf. Samoan (as to form) (Table II)
I	a	ni	na	ek	a'u
Thou	ku	ko	ku	(a)	'oe (koe)
He	i	i	(i)	(i)	ia
We (Inc.)	tu	ti	te	inta	ta
We (Excl.)	au	pu	me	ekra	ma
You	ku	ki	ke	eka	'ou (kou)
They	iru, iu eru, eu	ri	le	era	la
We two (In.)	ara	moa	mo	ekrau	mā (maua)
We two (Ex.)	ta	ta	to	intau	tā (taua)
You two	koro	kia	ko	ekau	'oulua (koulua)
They two	ra	ria	lo	erau	lā (laua)

This table shows that the Maori-Hawaiian or Polynesian pronouns, represented by the Samoan, compare closely with the Papuan verbal pronouns as to form. These four tables show, as it seems, conclusively enough that the Oceanic pronouns are descended from one original—that is, they represent the personal pronouns of the original Oceanic mother-tongue, and that it was a characteristic of that tongue to have a longer form of the pronouns, the separate pronoun, which was made longer by the prefixing of demonstrative particles, and shorter forms, devoid generally of these demonstrative prefixes, the nominal suffix, and the verbal pronoun (and it should be added, though not exhibited in these tables, the verbal suffix, or objective pronoun—for which see works above named.) The verbal suffix in Efate has the same form as the nominal suffix in the plural, but in the singular is:—

Me	au (rarely nau)
Thee	ko (dialects k, and ma)
Him, her, it	na, nia, ia, i

The *n* prefixed in *nau* and *nami* in Efate (II.), in *nay* Malagasy (III.), and in *ni* and *na*, Efate and Epi (IV.) seems to be the same *n* as that already noticed as prefixed to the pronoun of the second person *anao*, *angkau*, *ago* (*ango*), and it is manifest that Efate *au*, like Samoan *a'u*, and Malagasy *aho*, is the same as Malay *aku*, I, and that *aku* is the least incorrupt. (See Table III.)

In comparing the pronouns of the second and third persons it has to be born in mind that, as is manifest from the Malagasy and Malay, the pronoun of the third person, *iya* (*inya*), &c., is plural (though used

* The Melbourne Public Library, Vol. II., 1891, comparing Vol. I. This work is published by, and belongs to that Library, from which it can be obtained.

also for the singular), and that, as is manifest from all, the pronoun of the second person is likewise plural, though used also for the singular, *kau*, *koe*, *ku*, *ko*, and *ma*, and *mu*, being all abbreviations of the same plural form seen in Malay *kamu*, Tagala *kamo*, Efate (dialect) *akam* (*kumu*). Fifty years ago Bopp remarked this, and pointed out also that the more uncontracted form is used to denote the real plural. Another way of expressing the real plural is by adding to the original personal pronoun a plural demonstrative, meaning "those," as in Malagasy, *anareo*, you—those; *izareo*, they—those; Efate *nāra*; or "they" may be expressed by this demonstrative alone, as Samoan *la*, they (those). The numerals "two" and "three" suffixed to the pronouns (see above) need no remark.

In the Oceanic mother-tongue *kam* or *kamu* denoted "ye," being the second personal pronoun plural, and we know that the singular was *ka*, which is seen in Malay *dika*, Tagala *ka*, Mallicolo *aingka*, thou (*ami-te*, ye); and in the "inclusive" *isika*, *kita*, *tatou*, of which the meaning is "we (and) thou," the *ta* or *ka* denoting "thou," as Bopp has shown. This change of *t* and *k* is seen also in *tau* for *kau* (Epi dialect), *ituma* for *kamu*, *kumu* (Tanna dialect). Tanna *ik*, thou, is plainly the original singular, and *ituma* the plural.

As the "inclusive" denotes "we (and) thou," so the "exclusive" denotes "we (and) they"—that is, these two modern representatives of the original pronoun of the first person plural have, the former, the pronoun of the second person singular (*ta* or *ka*), and the latter, the pronoun of the third person plural (*ni*, *ma*, *y*—i.e., *i*) suffixed to it. This leaves in Efate *na*, in Malagasy *na* and *a*, and in Malay *a* (in *ki nāmi*, *izah ay*, *nay*, *k ami*) as the representative of the original Oceanic pronoun first person plural; and it is at once manifest that *na* is the more incorrupt from which *a* is derived by the elision of the *n*. We might conclude, therefore, that *kita* represents an original *kinata* (*kināta*, *kinta*, *kita*) even if we could no longer find any phonetic trace of the lost *na* or *n* still retained in *kinami*, Santo *kanam*, &c. But, were it necessary, other proof could be brought forward. Thus the word for *kita* in Efate has several dialectical forms, and is sometime actually pronounced *kinta*, *kināta*, or *kigita*—i.e., *kingita*. (It should be said that *nami* (Table III.) is often pronounced *ngami*, and that *gita* (*ngita*) in that table is probably for an original *nāta*, as the separate pronoun in the dialects in which it is used is not *akit*, but *ningita*, *kingita*, and *kinami* is pronounced in different dialects *ningami*, *kingami*). Again we find in Table IV. the Aneityum *inta*, verbal pronoun; in a dialect on the north of Santo *niti* or *inti*, separate pronoun; in the dialect of the south of Santo, of which a grammar

has been written by the Rev. J. Annand, M.A. ("South Sea Studies," above cited), *endra* (*enda ra*=we, thou, they); and in a dialect of Mallicolo *ante*. Where the *ta* (thou) has become *ka* the elision of the *n* before it was equally easy and natural in the island languages. Let it be noted that if the two modern representatives of the ancient pronoun of the first person plural give us trouble in reaching its form, they give also, by way of compensation, valuable information as to the ancient pronouns of the second and third persons. With respect to the verbal pronoun of the "exclusive," it occurs in various forms in different dialects, which, however, generally are simply and plainly abbreviations of the separate pronoun; thus Santo *kana* or *ana* is plainly such of *kanam* or *anam*, the first part of it ("we") being retained; in Efate *pu* (for *mu*, dual *moa*) the final part of the word is retained (Samoan *ma-tou*, literally 'they—three,' the *ma* corresponding to the final *mi* of *kinami*, *m* of *kanam*, *anam*). So Samoan *ta-tou* is literally "thou—three," which plainly requires the sense of the pronoun "we," still retained in *inta*, &c., to make grammatical sense, as "we (and) thou three." It appears then that *mi* (Efate and Malay), Samoan *ma* represents a pronoun of the mother-tongue denoting "they," and Malagasy *y* (*i*) in *ahay* (for *akai*), *nay* (*nai*) is the same pronoun with the *m* elided, as it is in Florida *gai*, for *gami* ("The Melanesian Languages," p. 526).

We may now set down the results of the foregoing investigations in

TABLE V.

Personal Pronouns.	Actual Forms.	Probable Original Forms.
Singular—1	'nau, aku, —ku, ni	'naku, —ku, 'ni
2	ik, —k, ta, ka	'nka, —ka, 'nta, ta
3	See plural 3 (a) inya	See plural 3 (a) inya
Plural—1	ana, ina	'na
2	'kamu, 'tuma	'kamu, 'tamu, 'tum
3	(a) inya, 'ni, i, mi, ma (b) ara, alo, 'la	inya, 'ni, 'm' 'ra or 'la

The apostrophe simply donotes that the vowel omitted is uncertain, e.g., 'na might have been *ana*, *ina* or *ena*, we. The plural 3 (b) has already been mentioned as really a plural demonstrative denoting "these" or "those." From this table we could not tell whether *t* or *k* was the original consonant of the pronoun of the second person, but may observe that its plural was formed by suffixing to it 'm', which appears also in the third person plural. As the third person singular is used only as in the plural, all we can infer from the table is that it was probably a vowel to which this plural ending *m* was attached. From the table we cannot tell whether *l* or *r* was the original consonant of the plural 3 (b). As in the third, so in the second person, owing to the almost exclusive use of the plural for the singular (like English you for thou as well as ye), we have largely to infer the form of the original singular.

Turning now to the Continent of Asia, we find on the south coast of Arabia the degenerate descendants of the ancient Sabœans or Himyarites speaking the modern Himyaritic or Mahri, a language belonging to the same family as the (Middle) Arabic, ancient and modern, the Ethiopic (carried by the Himyarites to Abyssinia) with its modern dialects, the Amharic, and the Tigre, the Assyrian of the Inscriptions, Chaldee, ancient and modern Syriac, Hebrew and Phœnician. The Mahri personal pronouns, which are those peculiar to this family (the "Semitic"), are—

TABLE VI.

Singular—1	ho	—ku	—i, —ni
2	het (<i>m. and f.</i>)	—ka	—ik
3	he (<i>f. se</i>)	..	..
Plural—1	n'ha, nha	—an, —n	—enna
2	tem (<i>f. ten</i>)	—kum	..
3	hem or habu (<i>f. sen</i>)	—hum	..

Let us now compare the (middle) Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldee and modern Syriac, &c.:—

TABLE VII.

Singular.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chaldee.	Modern Syriac.
1	ana	anoki, ani	ana	ana
2	anta (<i>anti</i>)	ata (<i>ati</i>)	anta (<i>anti</i>)	at (<i>ati</i>)
3	huwa (<i>hiya</i>)	hu (<i>hi</i>)	hu (<i>hi</i>)	o (<i>i</i>)
Plural.				
1	nahnu	anahnu, anu	anahna	ahni
2	{ antum (<i>antona</i>) antumu	atem (<i>aten</i>)	antun (<i>anten</i>)	ahton
3	{ hum (<i>hon</i>) humu	hem, hema (<i>hen</i>)	inun (<i>inin</i>) himon	ani, 'ni
Singular.	Assyrian.	Ethiopic.	Amharic.	
1	anaku, anku	ana	ene	
2	atta (<i>atti</i>)	anta (<i>anti</i>)	anta, antu (<i>antshi</i>)	
3	su (<i>si</i>)	wtu (<i>yti</i>)	ersu	
Plural.				
1		nehna	ënga	
2	attunu (<i>attina</i>)	antem (<i>anten</i>)	alant	
3	sun (<i>sin</i>)	wtom (<i>wton</i>) ëmuntu (<i>ëmantu</i>)	ersatshae	

The Amharic *ersu* is literally "his head;" *ersatshae*, "their head;" *antu*, you (for thou); and *älant*, those—thou (for "ye"), the *äla* being the demonstrative plural common to all the Semitic, and all the Oceanic languages generally, and signifying these or those. (See Table V.) In the Mahri as *liek*, (middle) Arabic *olaika*, Chaldee *illek*; and, without the —ka (=thou), as Hebrew *elleh*, Ethiopic *ellu*, Amharic *ala* or *ela*. Its very common use in Oceanic for the pronoun of the third person is to be explained (1) by the fact that the original pronoun of the third plural came to be commonly used for the third singular; and (2) by the fact that hence it became customary to append this plural demonstrative to that pronoun to definitely denote the third plural. (See the similar remark above as to the pronoun of the second person singular and plural, and compare the same con-

stituent elements in Malagasy *anareo*, i.e., *anka*, or *anta-re(o)*, and Amharic *alant*, and *anao*, i.e., *ankao* or *antao*, with *antu*, you, for thou.) Efate (*n*)āra (for *nai*, 'ra), Malagasy (*iz*)areo (for *izy areo*), and Malay *marika* (*ma*, *rika*) therefore literally denote "they—those." Malagasy *areo* or *ireo* (probably for *ireho*) compares with Ethiopic *eleku*, in which the *ku* has the same force as the *k* or *ka* in Mahri *liek*, Arabic *olaika*. According to this, *ma*, in Malay *marika*, is the same as *mi* in *kami*, and as the *ma*, *mi* in Table V., plural 3 (a).

Before passing from this subject of the use of the plural for the singular it may be observed that the fact of such use is undeniable, however it may be explained. Even now the double plural (*n*)āra in Efate is often used out of respect in speaking of a single person who is held in reverence or feared. To the same law, apparently, is to be ascribed the use of English you for thou. In modern Syriac the third personal pronoun plural *ani* or 'ni (v. Table VII.) is often used to denote "he," or for the singular; and not only so, but it manifestly compares also as to form with the Malay *inya*, Malagasy *izy* (for *iz ni*, as has been shown); and, still further, it compares as to gender, being common, or both masculine and feminine, like the Oceanic word.

In Table VII. the forms in brackets are feminine, and those in the same line with them masculine, while the others are common. Thus it will be at once seen that in the ancient Semitic languages the pronouns of the first person were common, while those of the second and third persons had both a masculine and a feminine form. In Table VI. the feminine form has disappeared from the pronoun of the second person singular, and in Table VII. (modern Syriac) the feminine forms have disappeared from the plural pronouns of both the second and third persons, just as in our Oceanic languages.

TABLE VIII.—SUFFIXED PRONOUNS.

	Arabic.	Ethiopic.	Modern Syriac.
Singular—1	tu, ni, i	ku	..
2	ta, ka	ka	..
3	hu	..	..
Plural—1	na, na	na	..
2	tum(u), kum(u)	kemu	..
3	u, hum(u)	u	i
Dual—2	tumā, ā, kumā	..	..
3	ā, humā	..	..

As to these Semitic pronouns (Tables VI., VII., VIII.) it may be remarked that *anaku* (I) is the nearest to the original form of which *anku*, *ho*, *ana*, *uni*, *ni*, *i*, *ku* (and *tu*) are all abbreviations, and of which the *ku* is the real pronoun (the prefixed *an* being the same demonstrative as is prefixed to the pronoun of the second person). The same may be said of its plural *anahnu* (for *anaknu*) of which *nha*, *anu*, *ahni*, *nga*, *an*, *n*, *na*, are abbreviations. Of the others, the forms nearest to, or

identical with the originals are *anta*, thou, *antum* plural (feminine, *anti*, *antena*), of which the abbreviations are *het*, *at*, *ta*, *ka*, *ik*, singular, and *atem*, *tem*, *kum*, *tum(u)*, *kum(u)*, *kemu*, plural; *huwa*, he; *humu*, they (feminine, *hiya*, *hen*), of which the abbreviations are, of the singular, *hu*, *he*, *o*, *w* (in *wtom*), and *ē* (in *ēmuntu*), and *ī* (in *inun*), *hi* (in *himon*), and of the plural, *hum*, *hem*, *u*, *ī*, (*a*)*ni*, *'ni*, and *~mu* (in *ēmuntu*).

The plural ending *umu* became shortened to *um*, *mu*, *un*, *nu*, &c. The original *t* of the pronoun of the second person became interchanged with *k* in the original mother-tongue before the branching off into dialects began. The *m* of the plural ending became interchanged with *n* at a period equally early, as the tables show. The *n* of the modern Syriac *ani*, *'ni*, they, represents this original *m*, being the first *n* of the pronoun *inun* (*f. inen*), *hinun* (*f. hinen*), they; and of *hanun* (*f. hanen*), which latter form (*ha*, demonstrative prefixed to *hinun*) Stoddart (Grammar of Modern Syriae) thinks that *ani* represents—that is, he thinks *ani* “a corruption of the ancient *hanun*, *hanen*,” the final *n* being elided. This final *n* did not belong to the pronoun in its original form *humu* (Chaldee *himo*), but was added to it as in Chaldee *himon*, Syriac *hinun*.

Gesenius was of opinion that the Chaldee *inun*, they, was composed of the demonstrative prefix *in* (like *an* in the first and second persons) and *hun* (for the original *humu*), and he compares the form occurring in the Talmud for the third person singular—namely, *inhu*, he. The occurrence of this latter form, of which he gives the plural as “*inun*, for *inhun*,” shows undoubtedly that this demonstrative might be prefixed to the pronoun of the third person, and if the opinion of Gesenius were correct we should in like manner have to regard Malay *inya* as so to be analysed; but we adhere to the analysis above given. In Oceanic we find this demonstrative particle prefixed to the third personal pronoun thus: Malay, *inya*, *iya*; Samoan, *ia*; Malagasy, *y* (for *ni*), third personal pronoun (as above shown); with demonstrative *n* prefixed, *niga*—i.e., *ninga* for *nina*, dialect *kinini*, *inini*—i.e., *in* demonstrative, and *ini* pronoun (compare *inini* with *nina*.) In another dialect the pronoun is *inia* or *enea*, of which the plural (for which see above) is *inira* or *enera*, they—those, and manifestly the same as Malay *inya*, Tangoan-Santo *enia*, *enira*, Malo *nia*, *nira*, Tanna *in*, *ila* (perhaps for *inla*). The Efate *nai*, *nara* may therefore be as analysed above for *nani*, *nanira*, and probably is, though it might possibly be by transposition for *ani* (*a* demonstrative, and *ni*), or for *'nia*, dialect *inia*. The thing of essential importance to bear in mind is that while the demonstrative *n* may sometimes be found prefixed to this pronoun

in Oceanic, analogously to 'o (*ko*) in 'o *ia*, *d* in *diya*, and *iz* in *izy*, this must be carefully distinguished from the *n* of the original Oceanic pronoun shown above.

One other point of comparison remains to be discussed relating to the particles prefixed to the personal pronouns—namely (Table I.) *n*, *k*, *z* (or *s*), and *i*. Of these, *n* has already been shown as used in the same way in the Asiatic group. As to *z*, it simply means “this,” and is sometimes used in the Asiatic group also as a kind of article prefixed to the pronoun: Tigre *eziw*, he (*cf.* Hebrew *zeh hu*, and Ethiopic *zēwtu*), *eziatom*, they or those. As *k* is a demonstrative particle both in the Island and Asiatic groups it is sufficient to point this out, and to say that it is used, prefixed to the personal pronouns, analogously to *z*; but much more could be said were this article not already too long. It is used thus prefixed to the pronoun of the third person, as Prātorius has noted, in the Gurague (a dialect of modern Ethiopic), in which *kua* is “he,” *kia* “she,” *kenam* “they;” and the same writer compares it with the well-known Ethiopic particle prefixed to the pronouns *kia*, as in *kia*, us, ourselves; *kiakemu*, you, yourselves, &c. As to *i*, it is found in the Rabbinical Hebrew (and in modern Syriac) as in *ihu*, he; *iha*, she; and as *ki* was compared with Ethiopic *kia*, so this may be with the equally well known and similarly used Arabic *ia* or *iya*, as *iaka*, thee; *iakum*, you; *iana*, us; and with Tigre *i*, as in *ika*, thou; *ina*, we; *ikum*, ye; *iyatom* (= *eziatom*), they, &c. All these particles are demonstrative, giving emphasis to the pronoun to which they are prefixed. The *a* prefixed to *ku* in Malay *aku*, I, and in Assyrian *anaku*, I—i.e., *an-a-ku*, may be compared with the *ha* in Syriac *hanun*, *ani*, above mentioned, and well known as a similar particle.

It seems sufficiently clear from the foregoing that the Oceanic pronouns are of Asiatic origin, and belong exclusively to the particular Asiatic family indicated. There may be room for difference of opinion as to this or that detail, but it seems sufficiently obvious that the—

Oceanic *aho*, *ku* compares with the Asiatic *ho*, *ku*, I

"	<i>ik</i>	"	"	"	<i>ika</i> , thou
"	<i>ni</i>	"	"	"	' <i>ni</i> , he (they)
"	<i>ana</i>	"	"	"	<i>na</i> , <i>nha</i> , <i>ahna</i> , we
"	<i>ituma</i> , <i>kemu</i>	"	"	"	<i>atem</i> , <i>kemu</i> , you
"	<i>in</i> , <i>inia</i> , <i>nia</i>	"	"	"	(<i>hem</i> , <i>hen</i>) <i>ani</i> , ' <i>ni</i> } they
"	<i>ila</i> , <i>era</i>	"	"	"	(<i>inun</i> , <i>inin</i>)
				"	<i>ela</i> , &c., these, those;

and, if so, the matter is substantially settled.



THE LINE ISLANDERS.

NOTES ON THE RACES KNOWN AS THE TOKELAUS, OR LINE ISLANDERS,
CALLED BY THEMSELVES THE KAI-N-ABARA, WHICH MEANS "PEOPLE
OF OUR LAND."

BY TUTUILA.

INFORMATION on this subject was extremely difficult to procure with a certainty of accuracy, due to two causes: The first is that the mission, who have undoubtedly done the Kai-n-Abara much good by putting down drunkenness and murder and establishing order, have also substituted our political economy for theirs; and there is now a difficulty in finding out the social state of the people before their own savage notions and practices were mixed up with ours. The second difficulty is, that in collecting this information piece by piece, a civilised man is naturally tempted to formulate a scheme proceeding from the known to the unknown or the probable. This he does in a logical manner. But savages do not reason logically from our point of view. Effects do not follow causes in their minds as they do in ours. After following a chain of reasoning, which to our minds leads up to a fact quite evidently, they stop short, and quite fail to perceive it. Therefore nothing must be assumed as having been their practice simply because it seems to us that it must have been so. As far as I can find out, they have not in any way considered the question of their origin. All they know is that they owe their being to their parents, and they differ from us in this, that while we hold that we are accountable to the Almighty for depriving of life any being brought into this world, they assert that their parents have the option of depriving them of it, and that it is the duty of their parents to them and to society to deprive them of it, if there is no adequate provision possible for their enjoyment of life and continuing it. With us the poor are sometimes inclined to say that they have been defrauded by some person or persons unknown of their rights—with them, the fact of his living (*i.e.*, the poor man) at all in a state of poverty is evidence of an offence against Society, perpetrated either by himself or his parents. No person has usurped his place, since he either lost it by his own action

or his parents had none to give him. In either case Society wipes him out calmly and relentlessly. This notion, which seems new perhaps, and therefore curious to us, is, if you examine it, a perfect answer to the Malthusian difficulty. That riddle, as proposed to us, consists in the difficulty of dealing with a swarm of living beings produced by Nature, which is an irresponsible and uncontrollable power, while no adequate provision is made by that power for their maintenance. These people, after considering a good bit, no doubt, have said the difficulty arises from the producing power being paramount and irresponsible. Impose a responsibility on it and the riddle has not only been answered, but ceases to exist as one. Now, as you cannot impose a course of responsible action on Nature, substitute for her a new controllable paramount power, viz., Society. Make Society and its members in one generation responsible jointly and severally for the productions of the next, the first social duty being to limit the numbers of that generation to the prospective maintenance available for them. This is their view, and I have thrown together a few facts regarding their customs, which show how they have carried out this leading idea, and also how they manage about the questions of succession, inheritance, possession, and social distinctions. They point to hard-headed, common-sense views, which are very interesting, as having been held and practised by an otherwise very uncivilized race, isolated in the South Pacific.

The Kai-n-Abara inhabit all the islands of the Gilbert Group, Nanumea, and Nanumanga in the Ellice Group, and Banapa or Ocean Island. Banapa is a small, high, rocky island, with no reef, and is about three hundred or four hundred feet high, very barren, with no surface water. The people who live on it say that their race originated there. It is to leeward of all the rest. The remaining islands of the Ellice Group are peopled by men of Samoan descent. The Line Islands language is different from most of the other Pacific tongues, and is said to resemble a civilized language more than any of the rest, though I cannot claim to give any opinion myself on this point. The form of dialect varies a little from island to island, but never so much as to cause conversation to become difficult, or meaning obscure. The islands are mere coral reefs, enclosing a lagoon of shallow water, into which there is sometimes a passage—sometimes not. One or two have no lagoons. The east part of the reef is the land, which never rises more than six feet above the sea level, the tide rising about three and a half feet only. The soil is pure white sand only. The only eatable productions are cocoanuts, with which every island is very closely covered, the screw-pine (*pandanus*), and a very few poor breadfruits. Cocoanuts and fish is the food of every one. They make a sort of golden syrup out of the juice of the cocoanut tree, and also an intoxicant drink by tapping the trees, and they say

that this was taught them first by white men.* It is curious, however, that this method of using the tree is unknown to every other Pacific people. They are apparently of the Micronesian type, but although they have long straight hair, and are more of a copper colour than brown, they are not pure Micronesian. The Missionary (a Mr. Bingham) who lived many years among them, thinks that they are more allied to the Japanese: he judges by their language.

They are intelligent, can reason inductively, are brave, having a very respectable share of courage, and are extremely pugnacious, both sexes fighting like fiends on the least provocation. Their favourite weapon is the knife, but they never stab. They also use a form of quarter-staff, fencing very well with it. Fists are sometimes resorted to to decide trifling disputes, but they shut the thumb into the palm of the hand in closing it, and cannot therefore strike a really heavy blow. Their great failing is insane jealousy. This keeps both men and women in constant hot water.

The islands are all long and narrow. No portion is ever more than three-quarters of a mile wide from the sea either east or west. All the houses are built on the west side of the land, out of the South-East Trade, and on the lagoon. The population is enormous in proportion to the size of the ground. The lee side of every island shows, to a person used to the other Pacific islands, as one continuous town. A message can be sent from one end of an island to the other by passing it by word of mouth from house to house. On a wet day, when the people are all at home, no one would necessarily walk twenty yards. The most of the distance the people would never have to rise, or go out to pass the message to their next neighbour.

RANK.

There are four ranks, which comprise both men and women, but all four do not exist in all the islands. In the southern portion of the group there are no nobles, consequently there are only three classes. The noble, it appears, has been formed from the gentle class by their marriage system, and they are only to be found in the largest and oldest islands. There are, however, none on Banapa, but it is very small, and has but few people on it.

The classes are nobles (*te uea*), gentry (*te aomata*), commoners (*te rau*), and slaves (*te kanua*). I have not been able to find out much about the noble class.

In talking of their belongings it is convenient to divide them into

* Captain Hudson, of the *Peacock*, one of the vessels of the United States Exploring Expedition, visited Kuria Island in the King-mill group in 1840, and describes this "golden syrup" as known to the natives there. He says: "Their treacle is extracted from the spathes of the cocoanut trees, an operation which, if frequently repeated, destroys the trees." Captain Hudson took away from the Island a sailor named John Kirby, who had lived there three years, and from whom he obtained a good deal of information relative to the natives.—EDITORS.

real and personal property. The first comprises the land itself, all growing on it or erected on it, all wells or fresh water holes, the reefs, all the fish living on it, everything growing on it or found on it, and the right of fishing in the deep sea. Personal property consists of stored food, pigs or poultry, and dogs, mats, nets, household utensils, weapons, tools, canoes, oil-troughs, or whatever is made either by or for a noble or gentle person, or is given to a commoner by his land-lord. The noble and gentle classes own the whole of the real estate between them; but while every member of these classes can fish—either at sea or on any part of the reef indiscriminately—each one has a well-defined piece of land solely his or her own. The fact of owning a piece of land, however small, is the cause and the test of the rank. Should one of either class by any means lose all his or her land, then he or she becomes a commoner at once.

The whole of the islands are cut up into small blocks of land, like a chessboard. The blocks on the lee side are town lands, and much smaller than those on the windward side, which are farm lands. All the inhabitants live on the town lands, and, as a rule, within 300 yards of the sea. There are, here and there, a few houses on farm lands. The boundaries of these blocks are well known, and, although a block can be divided if an absolute necessity arises, in practice this is never done. (This appears to me to be because they are now so small that no person could live on less than one.) A landowner—either man or woman—can hold any number of these blocks—a wealthy married couple holding between them as many as fifteen or twenty (the blocks, as far as I can learn, run from one to two acres). But of course these are not contiguous, a man's estate being "peacocked"—to use an old Australian term—all over the neighbourhood. Although, to a stranger, the houses would form an almost continuous village, the people recognise divisions among them, the inhabitants of say every 500 or 600 houses forming a sort of community, among whom the ties of relationship and intercourse are more intimate than with persons outside of them. Marriages generally take place between members of the same town, but also exceptionally with strangers of their own or other islands. A landholder cannot be on all his possessions at once, and as it is *infra dig* for him or her to do work of any kind, except to make weapons, he employs persons of the lower class to work for him—to grow his crops, to catch his fish, to make his houses, mats, nets, utensils, weapons, tools, &c., to do for him everything that has to be done, including the guarding of his outlying lands from thieves. These are the commoners, or *te rau*. A commoner can do nothing without the license of an *aomata*, he cannot even live, since no portion of either land or sea belongs to him, and his presence without leave in any spot of either is a trespass, punishable by death if persisted in. They are

not tied down to any particular *aomata* as lord. They are free to offer their services to anyone or anywhere they may be wanted. The payment for these services consists in the right to enjoy part of the fruits of them, subject to the deductions made by the lord for his use. As a rule, this latter person takes almost everything for himself, the worker getting absolutely nothing but houseroom and food. The only restriction there is on the treatment he receives, is, that since the *aomata* cannot work at all without losing caste hopelessly, and *must* therefore have servants, the power of these servants to leave him makes him treat them fairly well in his own interest, so as to retain them as long as possible.

No *aomata* can marry a *rau*. Such a marriage would amount to a forfeit of his or her land, thereby degrading the offender. This keeps the land in the class. Nor can an *aomata-niki-rauroro* cohabit with a *rau* man without disgrace. An *aomata* man can cohabit with a *rauniki-rauroro* without disgrace, but cannot do so with his own *kanua* woman; but he can take another *aomata's kanua*, paying him for the occasion. When a couple marry, their lands, formerly held severally, become joint property in the interest of the prospective family. If a woman has sisters, then those sisters become the wives of her husband on her own marriage, and no other man can ever take them to wife. Their share of the land goes to the household along with the wives. (The marriage with the wife's sisters is not always consummated; she—i.e., the sister—gives up her land and becomes a harlot—*niki-rauroro*—with a *right* of residence in her sister's house.) Marriage is only dissolved by death, that is, inasmuch as it affects the position of the couple's property. A divorce can only be a *mensa et thoro*, not a *vincula matrimonii*—the woman becomes a harlot without losing caste, the man takes another as concubine. Neither party to the divorce can have any children after it. A widower can take another wife on the death of the first, but a widow cannot take another husband. (This vests the land in the children irrevocably.) No married pair are allowed by their laws to have nor bear more than four children, that is, only four children get the chance of life. The woman has a right to rear, or endeavour to rear, *one* child. It rests with the husband to decide how many more shall live, and this depends on how much land there is to divide. When the family is grown up big enough for the oldest to marry, the parents divide two-thirds of the land equally among them—equally whether boys or girls—retaining one-third, on which they live themselves. Unmarried girls live with their parents, but boys go on their inheritance. This is not, however, invariable. After having made this division, the parents cannot have any more children, whether they have had four or not, unless they can get some other person to take it as *tipuna*.* It does not then get any-

* *Tipuna*, a sort of godchild.

thing from its parents but personal property during their lives. At the death of the parents the remaining third is divided among the sons and daughters, married and single respectively. If a couple die without children among *aomatas* the land goes to the male line.

A married couple can adopt a child if they both please. This child is called *tipuna*, and is somewhat like our godchild, only more closely related. It is reckoned in every way the same as are the children (if any) of the godfather and godmother. Marriage between it and its godfather or godmother or their children is incestuous. The godparents become full brother and sister to the real parents. Marriage between them is incestuous. But the godparents' other children, or the godparents themselves, are no relatives to the real parents' other children. The *tipuna* does not cease to be the child of his or her real parents: he has two mothers and two fathers, all equally reckoned as blood relatives. He is full brother and sister to his own brother or sister, and also to his godbrothers and sisters; but his own brothers and sisters are no relation to his godbrothers and sisters. This makes kindred very intricate indeed. A child can only be made *tipuna* at its birth. There is no limit other than prudence to the possible number of godchildren, but a child can only have one set of godparents.

When the parents divide the real estate among the children and godchildren they retain, as before stated, one-third for life, and all their personal property, including the marriage presents received on the girl's marriage. They are not by law required to give the children anything but the real estate, but as a rule they give the young couple a start with their housekeeping.

A woman's real estate, when single, belongs to herself, her personal property to her father, and her person is her personal property, together with anything she may receive from a man for the enjoyment of her favours. When married her personal property is vested in her husband, her real estate in her children. Her husband (*qua* husband) has no claim to it, but he manages it as trustee for the children, together with what was his real estate, now also vested in them; and he is responsible to Society for the proper discharge of his duties as trustee.

The *te rau* class can only acquire personal property by the leave of the *aomata* with whom they are living, but it cannot be taken away from them when once given into their possession. The man has the absolute disposal of his daughter so long as she is not married. As a rule he hires her out as a harlot or *niki-rau-roro*. He sometimes, but not often, does the same with his wife.

When food is scarce, as in a famine, the commoners are very badly off. They cannot even go fishing without leave from an *aomata*, and there is no work to do, nor any means of getting food,—and the *aomata* class is under no responsibility for their condition,—no matter how scarce it may be. They are consequently driven to steal food. If detected the punishment is death. It is the greatest crime that can

be committed. The person from whom they steal, if an *aomata*, may take them as a *kanua* or slave. In this state their life belongs to their master, and everything they are possessed of, including wife and daughters, is vested in him absolutely. He can inflict the death penalty any time he thinks fit to do so, even years after. He disposes of the wife and daughters, taking the payment for their prostitution, or rather his wife owns them. No punishment is inflicted for killing a *kanua*.

If an *aomata* murders a *rau*—i.e., not in fair fight, or for some adequate cause, he or she must give the child of that *rau* a block of land, and thus it becomes an *aomata*, with all the class privileges.

There is in every township a large house called *maneabau*. Each family of *aomata* have a certain space given them in this house, which they and their servants, and slaves even, can occupy during the day at any time. It is the usual place of the *aomatas*, and old people. Each family has a certain part allotted them in it—as we have a pew in church attached to certain properties. All the social government is carried on in this house, and everything of a public nature is discussed in it. Decision is given by general vote, the majority carrying their point, as with us. The older and wealthier landowners have the most influence where there are no nobles, but do not seem to have more votes than any one else. Slaves, though present, have no vote—they are already dead men. No difference is made in the sexes; a woman can vote and speak as well as a man, and in general the women decide the question, unless it is one of war against another island.

Crimes and offences were punished by either fine or imprisonment, or determined by the general voice in the *maneabau*. As far as I could find, it appears that while every offence against the individual was compounded for by a fine (except perhaps murder), offences against society (such as stealing food, which made a man a slave) were mostly expiated by death, flogging, or imprisonment. This last-mentioned punishment was not, however, what it is with us. They did not lodge a man and feed him in idleness, or work him as we do; they put him for a determinate time into a place, out of which he could not get, and if he had no friends outside to feed him, and could not fast the whole time of his confinement, then he simply died of starvation.

A whole class of crimes against society has been swept away by the mission. These were religious crimes, which excited the wrath of the gods.

What these gods were is now very difficult to ascertain. The Supreme Being was beneficent. His name (he seems to have been masculine, and I can find no trace of any feminine divinities) was Te Atua.* Thunder was his voice, and he was believed to be really

* The Rev. Dr. Turner, in his "Samoa," says that the gods of Nanumea were Maumau, Laukiti, Folaha, and Telahi; those of Nanumanga, Foelangi and Maumau. The tradition is that the people came from Samoa. A good deal of information (of a sketchy nature) will be found in the work quoted, relating to these groups of islands.—EDITORS.

present in certain black, or rather green, stones, which were found at long intervals in the roots of the drift timber, of which large quantities came ashore at times. There appear also to have been a vast number of other gods, called *jungi*; a few were good, but the greater number evil. The most powerful and most dreaded of them was Momung or Mummong, that is, the earthquake wave, which sometimes floods the whole of an island many feet deep. Every natural phenomenon was supposed to be under the control of one of these *jungi*. The people were divided into two sections, one of which worshipped the *atua* and the good *jungi*, while the others worshipped the evil powers.

Each household had an idol, to which offerings of food were made, and to which requests were addressed. I am not clear whether these were real idols or fetishes.

There appears to have been a class of men who might be called priests, who held conferences with the spirits, and being—as far as I can understand, very clever ventriloquists, were able to bamboozle the natives to any extent.

I am told that at one time on one, if not more of the islands, they commenced cannibalism by eating thieves and slaves, but the custom does not appear to have been general, and did not last long. It was in the most populous islands that the practice obtained.

Commoners incapacitated by age or infirmity, or merely unwilling to work, got their living by mendicancy, the woman by prostitution. Large numbers died during hard times sooner than steal food.

The women were divided into four classes: (1) *Matavuro* = girls, (2) *aine numa* = matrons, (3) *kibono* = virgins, (4) *niki-rau-roro* = harlots. The first were simply unmarried women—not necessarily virgins. Intercourse between the sexes was perfectly legitimate without marriage. This was, in fact the rule, marriage the exception. The woman was free to accept as many men as would take her, provided they paid for the privilege. The payment, however, except in the case a widow, did not belong to her. If *matavuro*, it went to her father; if *kanua* (slaves), to her master. It never goes to her son. A woman who grants her favours without payment is regarded as a prostitute (in the worst sense), and despised. A *niki-rau-roro* (harlot) is merely earning her living in a legitimate way, and is greatly respected and envied if successful in doing it. But she must rear no child. Marriage was not common in the *rau* class, since no real estate was owned. The man took a *niki-rau-roro* as more or less his own, living with her continuously. As she could not rear a child while she was a *niki-rau-roro*, the couple, if desirous of having a child, would make a bargain with an *aomata* either to take their child as *tipuna*, or if female to take the child's earnings as *niki-rau-roro*. If the child was a boy, and the *aomata* refused to have a male *tipuna*, the question of his life was referred to the people at the *moneabau*. If they decided that the boy

was wanted he lived; if not he was killed. Female children were seldom killed, as they were a source of profit. The *niki-rau-roro* and the *aine numa* who had had four children practiced foeticide by pressure on the womb. In Nanumea and Nanumanga the women were delivered in the sea, and of course the child died. The women are very prolific, and very healthy. They have very few diseases. Although they lose their virginity at ten or eleven they carry their years well. A woman of forty or forty-five has often a very fresh appearance, and no grey hairs at all; she is sometimes still breeding at that age, and is a great-grandmother at the time.

Te Uea (nobles—the word actually means controllers). I do not know whether this class exists in the same islands as the *aomata*. They are in the northern part of the group. The difference between them and the *aomata* is in the disposal of the real estate. This is vested among them in the women only, and in two divisions of the women, viz., the *kibono* and *aine numa* (virgins and matrons). When a woman becomes *niki-rau-roro* she loses her real estate. Marrying is therefore still more restricted, and real estate more kept together; indeed, it seems that it would accumulate, as on a matron's death it passes to her daughters, who are either virgins or themselves matrons. The husband lives on his wife's land, with certain privileges which are unknown to me. Adultery deprives a woman of her standing, *but only if resented by her husband*, and I rather think deprives her of her land, by passing it to her next heir female, the husband having a kind of life tenancy. They employ *rau* people as the *aomata* do. A woman, as a rule, rears only one heir; her other children become *niki-rau-roro*. If, therefore, this one dies before she succeeds, and after four have been born, the whole of the real estate must go to another real estate holder. On marriage, proof of virginity is required. It must be conclusive, and is jealously enacted by the person who would succeed, should it be wanting. The "bedding" is a public ceremony.

The houses are all, or nearly all, two-storied, the loft being on the wall-plates. There are no enclosed sides to the lower portion of the houses; in wet and windy weather mats are hung up as a screen. The people eat below, sleep upstairs, and keep all their food and property up there. There are windows in the gable ends. The measurement of the average houses would be 40 feet by 20 feet, and the wall-posts 10 feet high. The roofs are very high pitched to give room upstairs. Their extraordinary good health and vitality is attributed to living off the ground. They bathe *at least* once every day, and afterwards oil themselves all over. The men and women bathe separately.

Their canoes are of the outrigger type, the same as seen in Fiji. They are built up of very thin cocoanut slabs, cut down by the axe or adze and sewn together. Sometimes they are dug-outs made of drift timber.

The mission was established among them in 1857. Previous to that date the islands were the resort of sperm whalers, who went there simply for the use, or rather abuse, of the women, no stores being procurable. They had made the place a perfect hell, where might was right, drunkenness the rule, and chastity an unknown quantity. The natives are now much more elevated, are submissive to law and order, a drunkard is a criminal and chastity is much greater with them than is usual among barbarous and savage people. In many things they have become better, but in many, I think, worse. If more Christian, they are infinitely more lazy. Formerly masters of the question of undue increase, they now turn that over to Providence. The old way worked the best, I think.

The foregoing notes are, I believe, substantially correct. Many things have been omitted which have probably been the custom, because the evidence has been mostly circumstantial. The state of things narrated has now passed away altogether, but it certainly has an interest of its own, and seems worth placing on record.





NOTES AND QUERIES.

DR. FRASER desires us particularly to state, that the "Myth of Creation," published in the last number of the *Journal*, was written down in the original Samoan language over twenty years ago, by the Rev. T. Powell; and that he got it from Tauanu'u, the official legend keeper of Manu'a. Mr. Powell was for many years a missionary in Samoa, and had gained the confidence of Tauanu'u.—EDITORS.

19. *Re query* No. 12, by S. Percy Smith, Esq., Vol. I., p. 128, of *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, referring to stone axes, green jade, &c. His Honour Sir William MacGregor, M.D., K.C.M.G., Administrator of British New Guinea, in his Annual Report from 1st July, 1890, to 30th June, 1891, mention is frequently made of the stone axes of the natives. Sir William presented specimens of the weapons of New Guinea to the Geological Survey Museum, of Queensland; and on two of the weapons Mr. R. L. Jack, the Government Geologist of Queensland made the following report: " . . . the two weapons which you were good enough to present to the Geological Survey Museum, have a specific gravity of 3.56, a hardness (6) equal to that of orthoclase, and are fusible with difficulty on the edges of thin splinters, and not decomposed by acids. In specific gravity the mineral, or rather rock, exceeds that of the New Zealand jade by from one-fourth to one-sixth. The mineral saussurite—named jade by De Saussure—(lime-soda zoisite) is the only one of the group which has a specific gravity (3.26 to 3.85) equal to that of your specimens; but the behaviour of your specimens under the blowpipe, and with acids, shows that they are not saussurite. The hardness of the New Guinea specimens is too great for serpentine, although low for true nephrite. The hardness of the New Zealand jade varies very widely (3.5 to 6.5). The New Guinea specimens differ widely from serpentine and its variety bowenite (which approaches nephrite in hardness) in their behaviour under the blowpipe, and with acids. On the whole it appears to me that the material of the weapons must be classed with the jade of New Zealand. Its fibrous texture gives rise to the suspicion that it is really a mixture of the anhydrous silicate of magnesia and lime (nephrite), with the hydrous silicate of magnesia (serpentine); while its high specific gravity points to a large proportion of iron, which is confirmed by blowpipe tests." Sir William MacGregor himself says: "Mr. Jack classes the jade of Collingwood Bay with that of New Zealand." He also says that the stone axes of New Guinea are "not used as a tool in building canoes, or in any other such work; but they represent the standard of currency in great transactions, such as the purchase of a canoe or a pig, or in obtaining a wife. The natives always carefully explain that, as concerns the wife, the stone axes are not given as payment for her, but as a present to the father of the girl." The greatest standard of currency in New Guinea is the jade, or greenstone axe; in Fiji the greatest standard of currency is the

"*tabua*," or whale's tooth. I have never heard of the jade or greenstone being discovered in Fiji, or noticed ornaments of jade worn by the chiefs.—F. ARTHUR JACKSON.

20. In reference to Dr. Carroll's paper on "The Easter Island Inscriptions," and as showing that the South Americans were capable of making voyages in the open ocean beyond mere coasting trips, the following quotation from a review, by C. R. Markham, Esq., C.B., F.R.S., of a pamphlet on "Las Islas de los Galapagos," by Don Marcos Jimenes de la Espada, is given, as abstracted from the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, for 1892, p. 314. "The group now known as the Galapagos Islands was discovered by an Inca of Peru, named Tupac Yupanqui, who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth century, and was the grandfather of Atahualpa, the reigning Inca at the time of the conquest by the Spanish. After the conquest of Quito, he collected a large fleet of *balsas* on the coast of the province of Manta, put to sea, and discovered the islands, which he named Nina-Chumpi and Hahua-Chumpi. *Nina* means fire; and *hahua*, outside; *chumpi* means a girdle or encircled space in Quichua; hence, an island. . . . Our authorities for these Inca discoveries are: Sarmiento, the first surveyor of the Straits of Magellan; and Miguel Cabello de Balboa, in his '*Miscelanea Austral*, 1580.'"—J. B. THURSTON.

21. In answer to question No. 10, in No. 2 of the *Journal*, in which Mr. S. Percy Smith asks for information as to the migration of the Polynesians to Uea or Halgan Island (Loyalty Isles);—the following quotation from De Quatrefage's "*Les Polynésiens*," p. 199, will throw some light on the subject. "Lastly I add to Hale's Chart the trace of the migration of the inhabitants of Uea (Wallis Island) to the Loyalty Isles, a migration which I regret not to have noticed in the text. This shows us historically the Polynesian race mixing with the Melanesian race. M. de Rochas, to whom we owe the knowledge of the tradition relative to that event, tells us that it took place five generations before the date of his residence in New Caledonia, that is to say about the year 1730."—J. B. THURSTON.

22. After reading Mr. Tregear's article on "The Polynesian Bow," in the April number of the Society's *Journal*, I asked Mr. Joseph Hippolyte, a native of D'Urville Island, Cook's Strait, N.Z., whether the natives had any knowledge of the bow and arrow before the advent of Europeans. He immediately replied they had, and that they always used the bow for killing birds, but not in warfare. The name of the weapon, which I got him to write, was *topere*—this includes the bow and arrow. He did not know of what wood bows were generally made; but the arrows were tipped with the spear of the stingaree, or the hard tough wood of the fern tree. That the inhabitants of Eastern Polynesia were acquainted with the principle of the bow seems unquestionable, though in many of the islands it was only represented as a toy, or used for amusement. Amongst all peoples, civilized and uncivilized, imitations of the national weapons are common playthings. European children have their guns, swords, and cannons; on the Pampas of America boys amuse themselves with miniature lassoes and bolas; the young Indian of the Amazon Valley has his little *gravatana*; and the young Australian Black his toy boomerang. Along with these are sometimes found the weapons of a bygone age. Thus bows and slings were amongst the amusements of our boyhood; but is there any instance of the toy preceding the useful weapon or implement? or of a weapon being introduced amongst a people first as a toy, and afterwards becoming practically useful; I know of none. The question to be decided is, whether in the Polynesian Bow we have an unperfected weapon or a weapon fallen into disuse. The information obtained from Mr. Hippolyte, given as I received it, may throw some light on the subject. During a second conversation with him when other natives were present, I noticed that all understood the meaning of *topere*.—JOSHUA RUTLAND.

THE RAHUI.

EXTRACTS FROM A PAPER BY TAYLOR WHITE.

Mr. Taylor White's object in writing these notes is to elicit information about the custom of *rahui*; we hope that some of our members will supply notes of their experience of the manner in which it was formerly applied. The custom is almost obsolete in New Zealand, but was in full force within the last thirty years. Want of space has obliged us to curtail Mr White's notes somewhat.—EDITORS.

This would be a subject of great interest if some of our members in New Zealand and other islands would give a description of the object and method of this ancient institution, which, possibly in practice, would differ somewhat in places far apart. My attention was directed to the consideration of the *rahui* by the report of a certain law case which appeared in the *Hawke's Bay Herald*, and from that report I cull the following extracts, which would seem to have a bearing on the custom of *rahui*: "On the 25th February, 1892, at Hastings, Hawke's Bay, an important case, referring to the ownership of certain Native reserves, was brought before the Chief Judge of the Native Land Court and Judge Scannell.

* * * The following are extracts from Sir R. Stout's address to the Court: "My point is this: that Te Rangikamangungu and Hawea are found in possession of this land. They put up *rahuis* all over it. * * * The whole of the block from Te Whanga to Puketitiri and Titiokura at Mohaka, was affected. That land was given to Te Rangikamangungu and Tutura; they went and put up *rahuis* all over it. At Puketitiri, *Piko* a man was the *rahui*. At Oingo (Hauhau) was *Kauhourangi*, another man. The whole of the land was thus made sacred—even the eel-weirs." Sir Robert Stout remarks: * * * "It will be remembered that a *post* was erected at the place where one of the Ngaiteupokiri chiefs was killed. What is the meaning of that if it is not that Ngaiteupokiri went there to make a claim to the land, and that their claim was objected to by the people in possession? * * * It is evident that shortly after the return of Ngapuhi and Ngatikahungunu from Whitiotu a woman was impaled by Te Hauwaho at Hauhau on the Omaha Block. Does not that show right to the land, and does it not also show possession?" The point I do not understand is: How could men be "put up as *rahuis*?" The places mentioned, Puketitiri and Oingo, were a long distance apart—some thirty miles or so. Were they dead men or living men? If merely a man put in charge as guardian of an outlying district, then a fortified *pa* would have to be erected, and a strong garrison kept there. The remains of which *pa* would be visible at the present time. * * *

In the "Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary" is this definition of *rahui*: "To protect by a *rahui*—i.e., by a mark set up to prohibit persons from taking fruit, birds, &c., on certain lands, or to prevent them trespassing on lands, &c., made *tapu*. * * * For good instance of tribal *rahui*, see 'Maori Customs and Superstitions,' by John White. * * * Mangaian: *raui*, sacred, restricted by *tapu*; a mark of *tapu*, generally shown by the setting-up of a cocoanut leaf plaited in a particular way." The archives of the Native Lands Court of New Zealand must contain many queer records relating to the *rahui* and similar customs which would be embodied in the evidence of numerous witnesses claiming a title to lands in dispute. Perhaps these records may, at a future date, be searched, and interesting data extracted therefrom. The *rahui* would seem widely extended, and not restricted only to the Polynesian race. Mr. A. R. Wallace, in "The Malay Archipelago," speaks of it as in use among the natives of Timor, a Papuan race. "A prevalent custom is the *pomali*, exactly equivalent to the *taboo* of the Pacific islanders, and equally respected. It is used on the

commonest occasions, and a few palm leaves stuck outside a garden as a sign of the *pomali* will preserve its produce from thieves as effectually as the threatening notice of man-traps, spring-guns, or savage dogs would do with us."

In Africa we seem to find a somewhat similar custom. Major A. B. Ellis, in "The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa," says, when speaking of the female *kosio* of Danh-gbi, or Danh-sio, that is, the wives, priestesses, and temple prostitutes of Danh-gbi, the python god, have their own organization.

* * * "When a Danh-si is insulted, as sometimes happens, she raises a loud cry, which is at once taken up by all her fellows, who run to her assistance, armed with sticks and whips, and proceeding to the house of the offending person, they throw themselves on the ground and howl and yell like furies. If compensation be not then offered, they enter the house, tear down the fences, and commence to pillage; but this can always be checked by placing palm leaves in their path. They are bound to respect this frail barrier, and retire to the street, for, used in this manner, the palm leaf signifies that the house is placed under the protection of the python god." "The person of a priest or priestess is sacred. A layman must be careful not even to knock one by accident or jostle against one in the street."

From the same authority I get the following, which is of interest, though foreign to the subject in hand: "Besides the ordinary tribal tattoo marks borne by all natives, the priesthood of Dahomi bear a variety of such marks, some very elaborate, and an expert can tell by the marks on a priest to what god he is vowed, and the rank he holds in the order. These hierarchal marks consist of lines, scrolls, diamonds, and other patterns, with sometimes a figure, such as that of the crocodile or chameleon. The shoulders are frequently seen covered with an infinite number of small marks like dots, set close together. All these marks are considered sacred, and the laity are forbidden to touch them."

Had the Maori Tohungas any special tattoo or official mark to denote their office, and as a mark of protection against the assaults of their fellow-men?—



JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

CONTAINING

THE TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

No. 4.—DECEMBER, 1892.—Vol. I.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

A meeting of the Council was held at Wellington on October 8th, 1892.

Letters were read from Senor D. S. y Sanchez ; Sir J. B. Thurston ; Editor, "Petermann's Mittheilungen." ; Rev. D. Macdonald.

The following new members were elected, viz.—(1) Rev. J. T. Pinfold, Dunedin ; (2) Rev. W. E. Paige, Masterton ; (3) Lieut.-Col. T. W. Porter, Gisborne ; (4) Senor Domingo, S. y Sanchez, Manila ; (5) His Excellency Sir J. B. Thurston, Fiji ; (6) A. MacDonald, Shannon.

The following works were presented to the Library :—*Transactions R. G. S. Australasia*, Queensland, Vol. VII., parts 1 & 2, from the Society ; *Records of the Australasian Museum*, Sydney, Vol. II., Nos. 1, 2, 3, from the Trustees.

The following papers were received :—*Maori Migrations*, Judge W. E. Gudgeon ; *Asiatic Origin of Oceanic Personal Pronouns*, Rev. D. Macdonald, Efate, New Hebrides.

It was resolved to hold the Annual Meeting of the Society on the 30th January, 1893.

A meeting of the Council was held at Wellington December 3rd, 1892.

Letters were received as follows :—The Geographical Society of California ; Mr. Elsdon Best, *re* extending membership to Maoris ; R. G. S. Australasia, Sydney, *re* exchanges ; Mr. W. T. Morpeth, *re* circular to gentlemen in the Pacific Islands.

The following new members were elected :—(1) Rev. J. McWilliams, Otaki ; (2) J. H. Garnier, Rarotonga ; (3) J. P. McArthur, 18, Silk Street, Cripplegate, London ; (4) Charles Johnston, 6, Kemplay Road, Hampstead, London ; (5) H. Leefe, Resident Commissioner, Rotuma, Fiji ; (6) Ven. Archdeacon B. T. Dudley, Auckland ; (7) Rev. A. G. Purchas, M.R.C.S.E., Auckland ; (8) C. B. Morrison, Wellington ; (9) H. W. Saxton, F.L.S., New Plymouth.

The following papers were received :—*Introduction to Easter Island Inscriptions*, Dr. Carroll ; *He Waiata-tawhito* ; *Te Kura-tawhiti* and *He waiata whangai ariki*, W. H. Stowell ; *Historical Notes and Genealogies from Rarotonga*, by Te

Aia; *The Line Islanders*, by "Tutuila;" *Genealogy of the Pomare Family, Tahiti*, Miss Te Uira Henry; Notes on Mr. A. S. Atkinson's paper, *What is a Tangata Maori?* Tutu Tamati; Do. by Ven. Archdeacon W. L. Williams.

The following works were received for the Library:—*The Ulu, or Woman's Knife*, from Prof. O. T. Mason; *Proceedings R. G. S.*, England, Vol. XIV., Nos. 9 & 10, from the Society; *Calendar of the Imperial University*, Tokio, 1891-2, 2 vols.; *Annual Report Australasian Museum*, Sydney, from the Trustees; *Did the Phœnecians discover America?* T. C. Johnston, from the Geographical Society of California.

Members of the Society are reminded that the Annual Meeting will take place at 8 p.m. on the 30th January, 1893, in the lecture room, Board of Education Office, Wellington, and also, that subscriptions are due on the 1st January.

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